

the American imports. Last year (1857) the short crop in America raised the price in India to such an extent as to bring 220,000 bales more than ever had been known. This arises from the dirty state of the samples brought from India. To remedy the evil and secure a good supply, the late agent of the Honourable East India Company, in his last publication on cotton,* was of opinion that the establishment of agencies in India by the Lancashire merchants would obviate the difficulties, and obtain a regular and clean supply, adapted to the English market. In a report† on the subject of the cotton culture in 1836, the company intimated what the work of Dr. Royle confirms in 1857, that the better adaptation of the machinery used in the spinning-mills of the north of England to the short staple of the Indian species would much promote the importation of this product at the English ports.

Mr. Mackay, a talented and enterprising gentleman in Lancashire, visited India on behalf of the cotton trade some years ago, and reports made by him to the various chambers of commerce in Lancashire substantially bear out the opinion conveyed in these pages, that the hope of improvement is in proper attention being paid to the commerce rather than the cultivation. A Lancashire merchant, in a letter dated the 18th of March, 1858, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Since Mr. Mackay made his report to the chambers of commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, and Glasgow, no improvement has appeared; the Indian cotton is still irregular in quantity as well as inferior in quality. Several steps, however, have been taken since Mr. Mackay's visit to India towards a right knowledge of what is to be done. It is now admitted that attention must be directed to cotton commerce more than to cotton culture. The Indian cultivators must be left to grow their own native cotton in their own way. The attempt to cultivate the American species of cotton in India has proved a failure. British enterprise must be confined to getting the native cotton in better condition, and at a cheaper rate to the home market, where the supply will thus be both larger and more regular. The government has its part to do in improving the means of transit in India to the coast, and in, by better police, giving protection to Europeans. The chambers of com-

merce have their part to do in establishing agencies in the cotton-growing districts, for managing every operation after the growing of the crop, which is now carelessly collected, carelessly cleaned, carelessly housed, and carelessly packed. Native money-lenders and middlemen carry off immense profits, besides injuring the commerce by systematic frauds and adulterations. All this would at once be remedied by establishing European agencies for the purchase of cotton. Many years would not pass before the English market would obtain half its supply from the free labour of British India, instead of being so dependent on the slave states of America. At Liverpool in one week 1340 bales of American sold from $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8\frac{1}{4}d.$ per lb., and 300 Surats from $4\frac{3}{4}d.$ to $6d.$ per lb. These Surats are suitable for spinning any hefts under No. 40, although some Indian cotton is only fit for No. 16 yarn. Indian cotton of all kinds can be sold at a profit in Liverpool for the average of $3\frac{3}{4}d.$ per lb.; so that, with the improved quality which the establishment of agencies in the East would insure, there is ample margin for a vast increase of Indian cotton commerce, independently of any improvements in its culture, to which attention has hitherto been chiefly turned."

The opinion of Dr. Royle as to the prospect of prices in England remunerating the enterprise of culture and exportation on the part of Indian ryots and English agents, and the connection of such a speculation with the probability of a total failure of supply from America through war or other causes, is thus published in his work issued in 1857:—"Alarm is justly excited in the great manufacturing district of Lancashire, and wherever much cotton is employed, at the disastrous consequences which would ensue in case of a complete deprivation of the raw material, should war, or any other difficulty, occur with or among the present great sources of cotton supply. As this is not likely to occur without some premonitory notice, directions might be sent, and the ryots induced to increase their cultivation of cotton at almost any time, because sowing takes place in some part or other of India at all seasons of the year; but few planters or merchants would venture to enter upon so extensive a speculation unless they had some security that the state of things which required their exertion would be permanent enough to reward their labour, the more especially if they knew of or had studied the disastrous results to Indian merchants in former years. Thus, in the year 1818 there were imported from India 86,555,000 lbs. of cotton, but the imports fell to 6,742,050 lbs. in the year 1822. But the

* *Review of the Measures which have been adopted in India for the Improved Culture of Cotton.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

† *Reports and Documents connected with the Proceedings of the East India Company in Regard to the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton, Wool, Raw Silk, and Indigo in India.*

armicil, however, was doubtless calculated to deter and overawe the contemptible Chinese navy, had the mandarins been disposed to attack them; but although there has been more than one serious tragedy in conflict with pirates, there does not appear to have been any actual encounter between the opium vessels and the authorities *on the coast*.

During the years 1837 and 1838, however, attempts were made by some British merchants to smuggle the drug into Canton, which led to serious collisions and disturbances *on the river*. Captain Elliot, her majesty's superintendent of trade, took measures, along with the Chinese authorities, to put a stop to these highly irregular proceedings on the part of a few, and these measures proved effectual. But meanwhile the imperial court at Pekin was organizing plans of a much more extensive kind to annihilate the whole trade, and to stop the smoking of the drug. A Chinese statesman of the name of Heu Naetse sent up a memorial to the emperor, praying that opium might be legalized, as the best method of dealing with an unavoidable evil. Two other statesmen, Choo Tsun and Heu Kew, memorialized the emperor in favour of an opposite course, requesting that the existing laws should be put in force with the utmost rigour.*

The prohibitory councils prevailed with the emperor; and although these measures utterly failed, it has been well said by a writer in the *North British Review*—"No man of any humanity can read, without a deep and very painful feeling, what has been reported of the grief, the dismay, the indignation of men in authority, and the emperor, on finding that their utmost efforts to save their people were defeated by the craft and superior maritime force of the European dealers, and by the venality of their own official persons, on the coast."

The prisons were soon crowded with victims, and death by strangling was inflicted in several instances on smokers and native dealers. An imperial commissioner, Lin, was sent to Canton to proceed against the foreign merchants. On his arrival there, in March, 1839, he immediately put the merchants under arrest, compelled them, through her majesty's superintendent of trade, to deliver up the whole of the opium then on the coast, amounting to 20,283 chests, and formally destroyed it by mixing it with lime and salt, and casting it into the sea. For some months after this opium was almost unsaleable, and the prohibitory measures against smoking it were so effectual, that the

consumption fell to less than a tenth of what it had been.

The war which ensued, although it arose out of the seizure of the opium as the immediate cause, really sprung from one more deep-seated and more remote in point of time. This was "the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and people of other countries claimed by the Emperor of China for himself and for his subjects, and our long acquiescence in this state of things." The war thus commenced in 1840, and concluded in August, 1842, however, decided not only the superiority of the British arms, but convinced the imperial court that further attempts to put down the opium trade were vain. Thenceforward the laws against smoking became more and more lax, whilst the trade, nominally contraband, went on with fewer restrictions than before. At the present time the trade has assumed all the importance of an established recognised traffic, and the merchants engaged in it, including nearly the whole foreign community in China engaged in commerce, shelter themselves under the plea of the sanction given to it by the British government, and the alleged insincerity of the Chinese in desiring to prohibit it. In China itself also the growth of the poppy has been extending, with the connivance of the local authorities. The quantity thus grown is not positively known, but it was stated on good authority as ten thousand chests so far back as 1847. It is inferior to the Indian drug, and is used for mixing with it.

Of late years the fibrous plants of India have been extensively cultivated, under the auspices of government, for purposes of commerce. Several new species have been discovered, admirably adapted either for export as raw produce, or being first subjected to certain processes of manufacture. Assam is particularly prolific in these descriptions of commodities. In Bijnore, Upper Assam, hemp is made by the natives from the *sunu* and *sunny plants*. Good flax has been gathered near Meerut. Gunny bags, in which cotton is exported, has of late been made from this fibre. The upper provinces of India are peculiarly adapted for the growth of flax; that of Seharunpore has been pronounced equal to the produce of the north of Ireland. From time immemorial flax was grown in India for the purpose of expressing oil from the seed; but of late attention has been directed to it for the fibre. Still India exports rather substitutes for flax and hemp than those commodities.

The extent to which we have hitherto been dependant upon Russia for these fibres may be

* *What is the Opium Trade?*

judged of from the fact that the average annual importation during the ten years, from the beginning of 1844 to the end of 1853, was—

	From Russia. cwt.	From all other places. cwt.
Hemp, dressed	620,519	357,098
Flax and tow or codilla of hemp and flax	1,013,565	466,417

Or the supplies we have drawn from Russia have been about twice as great as from all other countries put together. On the other hand, the hope we have of making India available for all our wants, is shown by the very rapid rate at which the importation of fibrous materials from that country has increased during the last twenty-five years. Thus, at three successive periods, there were imported into the United Kingdom:—

	1831. cwt.	1847. cwt.	1851. cwt.
Hemp from Russia	506,803	541,811	672,312
Fibres from British territories in the East Indies	9,172	155,788	590,923

Thus, while the import of hemp from Russia increased in twenty years only one-third, that of fibrous materials from India increased sixty times, and even between 1847 and 1851, increased three times! A further increase of three times, which, from Dr. Royle's statements, appears not only possible, but easy, would make us altogether independent of the hemp and flax of Russia. This possible independence of Russia arises from the circumstance that though the fibres hitherto imported from India include neither any real hemp nor any true flax, yet they include materials which may be usefully substituted for both, while for many of the purposes to which hemp and flax are severally applied they are superior to either.*

It may interest the reader to be informed why hemp fibre should be comparatively little grown, and should not be at all imported from India, although the true hemp plant is described as a native of that country. There appear to be two reasons for this apparent anomaly. The first is, that the low country of India is so rich in other fibres, which are either more rapid in their growth, more easily prepared, more beautiful to the eye, or more durable, that the natives for home use prefer them to hemp. The second is, that hemp is cultivated largely and widely for the sake of the *churrus* and *bhang* which it yields. The *churrus* is the well-known resin of hemp, or the inspissated juice of the leaves obtained from the plant by rubbing between the hands; and *bhang* is the name usually given to the dried leaves and twigs. Both of these are

extensively used as soothing and exhilarating narcotics. The former is swallowed in the form of pills or boluses, the latter is smoked either alone or mixed with a certain proportion of tobacco. It will give an idea of the extent to which the hemp plant is cultivated for this luxurious purpose if we add from another authority that the use of it, as a narcotic, prevails in Asia and Africa among not less than two or three hundred millions of men!†

But what becomes of the fibre, it will naturally be asked? The resin and the leaves and the twigs being removed, why should the hemp fibre not be made use of also? The reason of this is, that the mode of culture best suited for the production of *bhang*, and usually followed in Lower India, is not adapted to the growth of a valuable fibre. All plants when grown thickly together, shoot up in height, branch little, and, if the soil be rich and moist, are of a looser and more spongy texture. If fibrous plants be so raised, they yield finer, softer, stronger, and more flexible threads. Hence, both hemp and flax, when cultivated for their fibres, are sown more or less thickly, and are pulled up about the season of flowering, and usually before the seeds are permitted to ripen. But in India, when cultivated as a narcotic, the seed of the hemp plant is not sown thick as it ought to be when intended for cordage. The natives first sow it thin, and afterwards transplant the young plants, placing them at distances of nine or ten feet from each other.‡

Rheea fibre rope has been manufactured under the auspices of government; this fibre has of late years become an export. It exceeds the best hemp in strength, and rivals in fineness superior flax. It is cultivated in Rangoon, Dinapore, Assam, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and in the Straits' settlements: four to five crops of fibre can be obtained in the year from the same plants, and the price is as cheap as Russian hemp. This plant seems identical with the China grass, from which their celebrated grass cloth is made. Various prizes were awarded at the Great Exhibition of 1851 for the manufactures produced from this commodity. Excellent ropes have been made in England from this substance.

Varieties of paper, some of rather a fine quality, have been made from Indian fibres, both in India and in the British Isles. Notwithstanding the rude implements employed by the native manufacturers, some paper of a good quality, resembling that used for foreign

* Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. ii. p. 183.

† *Edinburgh Review*.

lery purposes are chiefly supplied by Hindoostan and the Island of Ceylon. Madras, Bombay, and Colombo (Ceylon), export to England annually over four hundred tons of stag-horn. These are much valued. The horns dropped on the hills and plains of India and Ceylon are very heavy, and almost as solid as bone. The horns shed by more than a quarter of a million head of deer are gathered in India for the manufactures of Sheffield. The value ranges from £25 to £50 per ton.

Tortoiseshell is brought to Europe chiefly from the Eastern Archipelago, and beautiful specimens of manufactured articles in that material both from India and China.

India sends to Europe great variety of shells and of marine animal products suitable for manufactures. Large quantities of the calcareous plate (commonly called bone) which strengthens the back of the cuttle-fish are brought from the Persian Gulf to Bombay, and thence shipped to Europe.

We receive from India about a thousand tons of cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) yearly, chiefly for transmission to the west coast of Africa, where a string of about forty is worth 1*d.* or 2*d.**

Of black-edged mother-of-pearl shells about a hundred tons are annually shipped from Bombay.

There is a shell which, although not much sent to Europe, forms an important item in the coasting trade of India; and in the trade of Ceylon figures as an export to the Indian continent. It is called chanks (*Turbinella pyrum*), and is a solid porcellaneous fusiform shell, used for cutting into armlets, anklets, &c., known as "bangles" in the East Indies, which are often highly ornamented. More than 4,300,000 of these shells are sometimes shipped in a year from Ceylon to the ports of Calcutta and Madras. Chanks, also called *kauncho rings*, are cut out by means of rude circular saws into narrow slips, which, when joined very accurately, give the whole an appearance of being formed from the most circular part of the shell. There is a small process, or button, at the base of each shell, which is sawn off, and, after being ground to a shape resembling that of a flat turnip, is perforated for the purpose of being strung. When so prepared, these receive the name of *krantaks*, of which two rows, each containing

from thirty to forty, are frequently worn round the necks of sepoy's in the East India Company's service as a part of their uniform—a substitute, indeed, for their stocks. The city of Dacca, so famous for its muslins, receives a large number of these shells, which are used for beating the finer cloths manufactured in that populous and rich emporium of cotton fabrics. The jawbone of the boalee fish is also used for carding cotton for the Dacca muslins.*

The Island of Ceylon is famous for its pearl fisheries, as has been shown in the chapter treating of that island. In the chapter on China the skill of the Chinese in producing artificial pearls has been noticed. These are articles of export to Europe. The pearl-shells, as well as their precious contents, are imported into England from Ceylon.

From the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coral is chiefly procured. Bombay is the chief depot for this commodity for shipment to Europe. Large coral deposits have been lately found on the coasts of Oran, and a bank on the southern coast of the Island of Ceylon.

Wax is a valuable article of Indian foreign trade. From China the best description is obtained, but India is rich in this product, which is also of excellent quality. About 300,000 lbs. of beeswax are annually shipped from Madras.

It has already been shown that the vegetable dyes of India are valuable, especially indigo; pigments and dyes yielded by animals form also an important element of Indian export trade.

Cochineal is only exported in small quantities to Europe. India has not done justice to herself in this branch of trade, for the Punjab possesses the insect abundantly;† and certain writers allege that the dyers of Lahore have from time immemorial used the dye which it produces. This, however, is denied by naturalists in the service of the East India Company. From observations and experiments made in the Punjab, it has been established that the wild cochineal of that district will produce the most beautiful dye known under that name.‡ The supply of the English market is chiefly from America, but the Dutch have gathered the insect abundantly in Java;§ and although attempts to introduce the American insect to India failed, no proper attention was paid to that which was in-

* The shells of *Cypræa moneta*, *Cypræa annulus*, and some small white shells of the genus *Marginella*, were formerly employed occasionally in European medicine. In Scinde they are at the present day calcined, and the powder sprinkled over sores. Sixteen hundred and twenty-five hundredweight of cowries have been imported in one ship from Ceylon for this country.

* *Shells and their Uses.* By P. L. Simmonds.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, vol. vii. part i.

‡ *Observations on the Wild Cochineal of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces.* By Dr. Dempster.

§ Dr. McClelland, of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.

digenous to India.* The attention of the governor and secretary of the north-western provinces was directed to the subject in 1855-6, and the probability is that this article of commerce will be brought to command more attention in the European markets.

The lac dye is a product peculiar to India, using the term in the more extended signification. It reaches us from India in the various shapes of stick-lac (deposited round the branches of trees), seed-lac, thread-lac, melted down into a resin, forming the basis of sealing-wax and lackers or varnishes; and the red colouring matter, in cakes, known as lac-dye, which forms a dye-stuff. Lac is obtained chiefly on the hilly parts of Hindoostan, on both sides of the Ganges, and in Birmah. From the port of Calcutta upwards of 4,000,000 lbs. are annually shipped.

Lac insects (*Coccus lacca*) are found in enormous numbers in the mountain forests on the sides of the Ganges, and line the branches of various trees, as the *Ficus Indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Croton lacciferum*, and others. When about to deposit their ova, these insects puncture the young shoots and twigs of the various trees: the branches then become encrusted with a reddish-coloured resinous concretion, which consists of the inspissated juice of the plant imbued with a peculiar colouring matter derived from the insect: the insects, when attached to the branches of the trees, soon become enveloped in the layer of resinous matter, which hardens on exposure: this is the stick-lac of commerce. The insect dies, and the body shrivels into an oval bag, containing a minute drop of red fluid: this is extracted from the lac, and when formed into small masses becomes the lac-dye of commerce. It is extensively used as a substitute for cochineal.

Stick-lac, which is chiefly obtained from Siam and Bengal, is the basis whence lac-dye and shell-lac are manufactured. These are the stick-lacs of commerce, the resinous substance mentioned above.

After the lac-dye has been separated from the stick-lac, the preparation of which is usually carried on in India, the substances remaining are formed, and become articles of commerce.

Ruby, garnet, and orange shell-lac are exported from India; the darker qualities are used in the manufacture of spirit varnish or French polish, and all the three qualities are used in the stiffening of the bodies or shapes of hats. Ruby and orange button-lac are used by sealing-wax makers and hat manufacturers. The quality is similar to shell-lac, but stronger in body.

* Dr. McClelland.

Ruby seed-lac and orange seed-lac are also articles of commerce, being used in the manufacture of spirit varnishes, lac-wax, white and yellow. Bleached lac is extensively used in the manufacture of the finer sorts of sealing-wax, and the wax which separates during the purification of the lac is called lac-wax, and comparatively little known. This substance is readily fused, and may be well employed in taking casts, which it does with great sharpness. It is probable, also, that it might be advantageously used to mix with other and more fusible materials in the manufacture of candles.

Lac is found encircling the branches of many trees in India in the form of a tube, half an inch to an inch in diameter. The broken branches, with incrustations at various distances, is called in commerce stick-lac, and it ought to be semi-transparent. The lac is formed by the insect into cells, somewhat resembling a honeycomb, in which the insect is generally found entire, and owing to whose presence stick-lac yields, by proper treatment, a red dye, nearly if not quite as bright as that obtained from cochineal, and more permanent.

The colouring matter exhibited by grinding stick-lac, and then treating it with water, constitutes seed-lac. The crude resin is abundant in the jungles of India: the best is produced upon the koosumba (*Schleichera trijuga*), which yields the colouring matter twice a year.

We import upwards of 1500 tons annually of crude shell-lac and lac-dye, of the value of £88,000.

The native process of making the lac-dye in cakes* is as follows:—The lac having been carefully picked from the branches, is reduced to a coarse powder in a stone hand-mill, and is then thrown into a cistern, covered with two inches of water, and allowed to soak for sixteen hours. It is then trampled by men for four or five hours, until the water appears well coloured, each person having about ten pounds' weight of lac to operate upon. The whole is then strained through a cloth, a solution of hot alum water is poured over it, and the decoction is drawn off, remaining a day to settle. It is subsequently passed into other cisterns, the water is run off, and the colouring matter deposited is taken up, and placed in a canvas strainer to drain. It is then passed through a press to remove all remaining moisture, and the cakes

* Lac-dye usually comes into commerce in the form of small square cakes, or as a reddish black powder, and contains, in addition to a considerable quantity of resinous matter, a carmine-like pigment, employed in dyeing scarlet, for which purpose it must be dissolved in sulphuric acid or in a strong acid solution of tin.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCE OF OUTLYING SETTLEMENTS.

THE commerce of what may be termed the outlying posts of our Eastern empire must receive much more attention from the public and legislature of Great Britain than has yet been given to it. The trade of some of these settlements has increased in a ratio greater than that of the old possessions on continental India; and others are adapted to a great commerce if the government of India, or the imperial government, only perform their duty. The neglect of the latter in some of these settlements has been such as seriously to reflect upon its credit and patriotism, and upon the intelligence and independence of a people who, being free, permit the like.

The settlement of Aden, from its geographical position, is one of the most favourable in the world. It is on the new highway between the East and West, formed by "the overland route." A carrying trade may be established from that port of a most extensive kind. From thence to Kurrahee, Bombay, Madras, the Island of Ceylon, Calcutta, the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and the Straits' settlements, all goods which are not necessarily brought round the Cape may be borne, and an important passenger trade established. Aden may be pronounced, in travellers' phraseology, the "half-way house" between England and her Eastern empire. As at present governed it is a pest-house. The European troops die off in great numbers, and so do the sepoys. The Aden ulcer and a species of dropsy, both fatal, and alike arising from the impoverishment of the blood, carry off great numbers; many also die of scurvy. The chief causes of the horrible mortality which prevails, are want of vegetables, and the labour imposed upon the troops in a climate perhaps more enervating than any other where there is a British garrison, not even excepting Trineomalee. Vegetables are easily procured, and the relentless imposition of labour is unnecessary. Yet while so much is heard about the errors and misdeeds of the East India Company, here is a place under the direct control of the imperial government, where the neglect of human life amounts to atrocity. Of course these circumstances must bear upon the commerce of the place, as the ratio of deaths will give it a bad reputation as to health, and check all foreign enterprise there. The cruelty of the government is not confined to the soldiery under its care, who are permitted to "rot off"

at a fearful ratio. Coolies from the Indian continent have been employed on public works, and treated with the same inhumanity. In the *Bombay Daily Times and Journal of Commerce*, so recently as December 10, 1856, it is related that a vessel had ten days previously arrived from Aden, being a month on the voyage, and landed sixteen coolies, "the pitiable remains of a party of forty-one she had taken on board,—twenty-five of whom had died on board. True, they were only coolies who had gone in the public service, they had no status beyond that of children in the commonwealth, and therefore nobody minded them. But they were human beings not the less, whose lives and sufferings must be answered for by those who have been the means, directly or indirectly, of sending them from the world before their time." It appears that these coolies proceed in large numbers from Bombay for employment in Aden; they are the subjects of injustice from the time they embark for that purpose until they return, or are sent to their long home by the atrocious neglect and cruelty to which they are subjected. The advances made to them upon engagement are so regulated as to prove a snare and a mockery. On the voyage they are badly supplied with water, and rarely at all with vegetables. Their arrival at Aden is followed by the imposition of an amount of labour which is merciless, and under which many of them sink. They are supplied with food so inappropriate, that if the intention of government was to destroy them by rapid degrees, it could not be more effectually performed. Vegetables are seldom supplied because they are not produced on the spot; consequently scurvy, or the Aden ulcer, or the fatal *beriberi*, a peculiar dropsical disease, soon set in and drain the life of the wretch left by his unpaternal government to die, or as is more usually the case, he is sent away to die on the passage, or, if he reach his home, there to perish. Hardly any of the poor coolies reach Bombay without scorbutic disease, aneurism, or affections of the heart, lungs, or bowels, if they are not dying of beriberi, or Aden ulcer. When men are sent on board ship for Bombay in this deplorable condition no report is made of it, they are accounted for in the returns as having gone to their homes, although the officials know that they are sent away with death upon them, and in many cases destined to be thrown

overboard as rotting carcasses. Yet all this cruelty saves nothing in a pecuniary way, on the contrary, it is an expense as well as a reproach. The pension list is heavily encumbered by the want of humanity characteristic of the British government in Aden. There is no difficulty in procuring labour at Aden, but government humanity is very scarce. The character of the climate seems, however, adverse to extensive settlement, as well as local peculiarities. The author has been favoured with an original report on this subject, in a correspondence between Mr. Coles, the acting secretary of the Bombay medical board, and Dr. Collum, whose experience and intelligence peculiarly qualify him to offer an opinion on the subject. The publication of this opinion will be of use to travellers and commercial men, to officers of the army, and persons having either Europeans, sepoys, or coolies under their charge.

To the Secretary of the Medical Board, Bombay.

Aden, May 12th, 1856.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 1103 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following information.

2. The climate of Aden consists of two seasons only, the hot and the cool, the former commencing towards the end of April, and terminating about the middle of October. These two periods correspond severally with the south-west and north-east monsoons, which distinctly mark their setting in and duration. Nevertheless it is to be remarked that for the space of a month between the two seasons the wind and weather are very variable, but the atmosphere is generally sultry, and not unlike the climate of Bombay in May and October.

3. With regard to the *hot* season it may truly be so called, the weather is then very hot; but the *cool* is only so termed comparatively, inasmuch as the sun appears to be equally powerful all the year round, and the only abatement to its effects during the day is produced by the wind, hence, sheltered from the wind, the atmosphere in Aden is always warm, and there is no period throughout the year when even gentle exercise does not produce profuse perspiration.

4. The effect of the wind in cooling the atmosphere is fully borne out by the meteorological statistics collected from the hospitals in camp, and that at Steamer Point, during the year ending March 31st, 1856. From these it appears that the average mean temperature on the lowest ground in camp, but which is quite open to the north-east monsoon, is from November to April 77°, whereas at the Hospital Steamer Point, which though on an eminence is sheltered from that wind, it reaches 80°. On the other hand during the south-west monsoon, *i. e.* from May to October, when the Point is open to the wind and the camp shut in, the average mean temperature is 80°, and at the latter 85°.

5. It is principally on account of this evident influence of the prevailing winds in keeping down the heat of the climate, and of the established superiority of an elevated position in effecting the same result, that I have lately recommended Marshag as the most eligible site for the proposed new barracks and hospitals at Aden. That promontory which is distant only about one mile from the present cantonment, and rises to an elevation of from five to six hundred feet, is open to the prevailing winds at both seasons of the year, and is decidedly the coolest

available locality, besides offering from its contiguity from the camp and town many other advantages not to be met with in any other part of the peninsula.

6. Strictly speaking there is no rainy season in Aden itself, though abundance of rain falls periodically in the interior and neighbourhood twice during the year, viz. during two or three months from the breaking out of the south-west monsoon, and again for a similar period, beginning from December. It is only rarely, however, that Aden partakes in this benefit, which I attribute mainly to the peculiar construction of the peninsula. It is observable that whenever rain falls the wind is always from the north-east, and consequently blows directly into the circle around the crater formed by the high hills of Shumshum, and its offshoots, finding no escape except through one or two narrow passes, the wind collects in the valleys, and rushes upwards in a compact volume, thus dispersing the clouds which had been attracted by the mountain peaks. Consequently it is only when the clouds are too heavily charged to be dispersed by this agency, or when the wind is very high, that any rain falls in Aden. This phenomenon, moreover, accounts for the great variation in the falls here in different years. Thus, some years the fall of rain has been excessive, whereas during the year ending March 30, 1856, it was only 1.50 inches. The descents, moreover, are very variable in these periods, but usually they occur in April and August, and again in November, December, and January. The falls during these latter months generally partake of the nature of showers, whereas in the former they are more like the heavy rains of the tropics, and huts and cattle have been washed away by the torrents which have descended furiously from the mountains.

No statistics of past years have been preserved by the civil or political authorities, nor in any of the medical establishments at this station, excepting the jail, and from the information supplied in my returns 3 inches 92 cents. appears to have been the average fall of rain for the last five years.

I have the honour, &c.,

R. COLLUM, M.D.,

Jail Hospital. Superintendent Medical Department.

When describing the Straits' settlements, notice was taken of their commerce, as some reference to it was inseparable from an account of those places, and the social condition of the people.

PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND.

Imports, 1853-4.

	£
Merchandise	581,239
Treasure and Bullion	93,061
Total	674,300

Exports, 1853-4.

Merchandise	689,002
Treasure and Bullion	179,945
Total	868,947

MALACCA.

Imports, 1853-4.

Merchandise	84,162
Treasure and Bullion	956,144
Total	1,040,306

Exports, 1853-4.

Merchandise	845,133
Treasure and Bullion	25,339
Total	870,472

value of the particular property concerned. Another amount of £6,000,000 consists of capital of the company, which in 1874 will be paid at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock by a sinking fund now in operation.

The policy of contracting a debt in *India* for the purpose of public works there is politic on the part of the government, as well as beneficial to the country, for the more extensively the natives of India subscribe to loans, the more hold the government has upon their loyalty. The subscriptions of the railway enterprises went upon another principle—that of securing to the people of the United Kingdom the property in those roads; the result is that should we be driven from the country, the people of India would have all the benefit of the outlay, and the money would be lost to the British subscribers.

There is rather an extensive impression that if the imperial cabinet assume the government of India, the people of England will become responsible for the debt. This will not be the case; the same security which now exists will continue, whatever form the government of India may assume, and with that security the holders of India stock must remain content. Since these lines were written returns have been made to parliament, which further illustrate this subject. A return to the House of Lords (in further part) shows that the total estimated net produce of all the revenues of India for the year 1856-7 amounted to the sum of £21,196,894, including £14,317,805 from the land revenue, subsidy, and tobacco; £1,961,124 from customs, £1,833,411 from salt, £3,177,242 from opium, £528,293 from stamps, and £157,418 from mint, &c., receipts. The charges of collection altogether amount to £7,137,501. Upon this net revenue of £21,978,364 there was an estimated total charge of £22,931,721, so that there would be a deficit in 1856-7 (the last year of the returns) amounting to £953,357. The charges include £3,288,819 for the civil and political establishments, £2,472,336 for judicial and police establishments, £10,945,224 for military and war charges, and £2,155,301 for the interest on the debt; there is also a charge of £2,623,744 for territorial payments in England.

As the progress of railways so much influences the state of the money market, and thereby indirectly the course of trade, as well as the development of the resources upon which commerce relies, it will also assist the reader in judging of the prospects of the trade of India to offer the following statistics of reports made since the foregoing lines were written. The report of the *East Indian* states that the works on the South Beemhoon

district are making good progress, and that the first twenty-four miles will probably be opened by the 1st of June; the construction of the other parts of the line is also being actively carried on. Arrangements have been made for the immediate recommencement of the Soane Bridge. Beyond the Soane, nearly up to Allahabad, the state of the country in February has not permitted operations to be proceeded with to any great extent. About sixty miles of railway are open between Allahabad and Cawnpore for the conveyance of troops, &c., and every exertion will be made to complete the whole of the hundred and twenty-six miles in the course of a few months. From considerations arising out of the mutiny, it is contemplated by the government to change the route of the line above Cawnpore, and the terminus will probably be at Meerut instead of Delhi. The number of passengers during the past half-year was 522,360 (of whom 488,904 were third-class), and the tonnage of goods and minerals was 70,355 tons, showing in the latter case an increase of 25,660 tons over the corresponding period of 1856. The total receipts in 1857 were £132,434 against £96,100 in the previous year; and the interest paid or payable to the proprietors to the 31st of December last amounted to £349,417. The net profits for the past year on the portion open between Calcutta and Raneegunge are estimated to be equal to a dividend at the rate of six and five-eighths per cent. The sum of £1,881,426 has been disbursed by the government of India on account of interest upon railway capital from the commencement of operations in that country up to the present time—viz., £1,800,748 in England, and £80,678 in India. The capital raised by the six railway companies, and paid into the treasuries of the company, amounts to £16,073,584, and of this only £576,979 was raised in India.

Notwithstanding the struggle which rages in India while these pages are being written, all evidence concurs in leading to the belief that a brighter future awaits that wondrous land. Although such writers as Bayard Taylor, Train, and other correspondents of the American press, have decried the labours of missionaries and philanthropists, these high moral agencies are telling upon the community quietly and decisively wherever they are at work. It is not improbable that a perception of this urged many of the fanatics of 1857 to their war of extirpation against the English. But God does not work moral and social changes by direct moral agencies only; it pleases him to use material media for effecting the great moral revolutions which subserve his grand and benevolent design.

There are no material changes which have not their moral relations and aspects. Commerce is not simply a material process, carried on under intellectual guidance; it is always associated with the inner life of communities. It creates and develops moral as well as intellectual tastes, and both as strikingly as it promotes material civilization. Man cannot meet man without interchange of thought. The products of one country cannot be spread upon the lap of another without exciting new desires, and suggesting trains of reflections which even the most thoughtless cannot wholly dismiss. The heart as well as the mind of a people is left upon the works of their hands. Every such work is a cardi-phonism, by which those who look upon it are addressed. The good and evil that are in us spread with our commerce in proportion as the stronger mind and will obtain in all things mastery over the weaker. He must be little gifted with an observing habit and philosophic temper who cannot see that upon the hard mental and moral types of oriental character our intercourse and commerce are telling as well as our direct spiritual agencies; just as the most colossal and durable idol, exposed to the sun and the monsoon, will at last bear obvious and lasting impressions of their effects. The day of oriental seclusion is gone; the highway is open in the desert; the footfalls of the busy throng of traders, soldiers, and politicians, resound to far-off Eastern nations; and already the swarthy children of the sun are learning to desecrate other visitors, and to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who bring the gospel of peace!" It were a blindness to the ways of Providence, and cowardice as to our own mission, not to hope for India, and for the honour of performing there a great and noble work; and among the bonds which shall bind that glorious region to this ruling country shall be the golden chain of commerce, graced and strengthened by the links of many a realm between.

The commerce of India, as well as of the Straits' settlements and Hong-Kong, will be promoted by the present satisfactory relations with Siam. There are various avenues of profit which a well-established and well-regulated trade with that country would open up. The hostility of the Indo-Chinese nations to the intercourse of strangers has hitherto shut up this field of enterprise even more than others in Eastern Asia. By a return presented to both houses of parliament, by the command of her majesty, in the session of 1857, the public have been put in possession of a treaty of friendship and commerce between her Britannic majesty and the kings

of Siam, signed on the 18th of April, 1855, the ratifications being exchanged on the 5th of April, 1856.

The first article of this treaty affirms perpetual peace and amity, and the reciprocal protection "and assistance" of Siamese and British subjects within their respective dominions.

ARTICLE II.

The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the control of a consul at Bangkok. The consul, in conjunction with Siamese officers, to hear and determine all disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects; but the consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic majesty.

It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British consul at Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this treaty, nor until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of this treaty.

ARTICLE III.

If Siamese in the employ of British subjects offend against the laws of their country, or if any Siamese, having so offended or desiring to desert, take refuge with a British subject in Siam, they shall be searched for, and, upon proof of their guilt or desertion, shall be delivered up by the consul to the Siamese authorities. In like manner, any British offenders resident or trading in Siam, who may desert, escape to, or hide themselves in Siamese territory, shall be apprehended and delivered over to the British consul on his requisition. Chinese, not able to prove themselves to be British subjects, shall not be considered as such by the British consul, nor be entitled to his protection.

ARTICLE IV.

British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of two hundred *sen* (not more than four miles English) from the city walls until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese government to enable them to do so; but, with the exception of this limitation, British residents in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel. In order to obtain possession of such lands or houses, it will be necessary that the British subject shall, in the first place, make application through the consul to the proper Siamese officer: and the Siamese officer and the consul having satisfied themselves of the honest intentions of the applicant, will assist him in settling, upon equitable terms, the amount of the purchase money, will mark out and fix the boundaries of the property, and will convey the same to the British purchaser under sealed deeds. Whereupon he and his property shall be placed under the protection of the governor of the district and that of the particular local authorities; he shall conform in ordinary matters to any just directions given him by them, and will be subject to the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects. But if through negligence, the want of capital, or other cause, a British subject should fail to commence the cultivation or improvement of the lands so acquired within a term of three years from

nions, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates."

Mr. Parkes, however, desires that all British subjects, without exception, shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade. The said royal commissioners therefore agree, on the part of the Siamese, that all traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.

The commercial agreement annexed to the old treaty is abrogated by the new treaty, with the exception of the undermentioned clauses of Articles I and IV.

Of Article I the Siamese desire to retain the following clause :

"British merchants importing fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, are prohibited from selling them to any party but the government. Should the government not require such fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them."

Article IV stipulates that no charge or duty shall be levied on boats carrying cargo to British ships at the bar. The Siamese desire to cancel this clause, for the reason that the old measurement duty of 1700 ticals per fathom included the fees of the various officers, but as this measurement duty has now been abolished, the Siamese wish to levy on each native boat taking cargo out to sea, a fee of 8 ticals 2 salungs, this being the charge paid by Siamese traders; and Mr. Parkes undertakes to submit this point to the consideration of her majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the court of Siam.

In the treaty of Sir John Bowring, it was stipulated that British subjects should have the right to buy and occupy houses and lands, under the conditions specified, but their right to sell them again was oddly overlooked. Mr. Parkes inserted a clause in the new agreement giving them that right.

The Siamese government insisted on the powers of prohibiting the exportation of rice, salt, and fish, in seasons of famine. Mr. Parkes consented to this on the condition that a month's notice should always be given before the prohibition should be enforced. By the seventh article of the treaty, bullion may be exported or imported free of charge. With reference to this clause, the Siamese royal commissioners agreed, at the request of Mr. Parkes, that foreign coins of every description, gold or silver, in bars or ingots, and gold leaf, should be imported free; but manufactured articles of gold and silver, plated ware, and diamond or other precious stones, must pay an import duty of three per cent.

One article of the supplementary agreement was eminently absurd on the part of Mr. Parkes. The Siamese commissioners requested that whenever the Siamese government deemed it to be beneficial for the country to impose "a single tax or duty" on any article not then subject to a public charge

of any kind, it might do so without infractions of the treaty, so far as non-duty articles were concerned. Mr. Parkes considered that he had kept clear of this trap by adding, "provided that the said tax be just and reasonable."

The indefinite article of the treaty, allowing British residents to travel a journey of twenty-four hours' distance, was made more satisfactory by clear definitions of distance by actual measurement or mutual agreement.

Rates of assessment upon English plantations, established in Siamese territory, were to be the same as those paid by the native planters or gardeners.

The neighborhood of Bangkok, especially some distance in the interior, is admirably adapted to the growth of valuable fruits and timber; such as betel-nut, cocoa-nut, siri vines, mango, maprung, darian, mangosteen, langsat, orange, jack-fruit, bread-fruit, mak-pai, guana, laton, and rambutan trees. Excellent pine apples are grown in every direction around the capital; also tamarinds, custard-apples, plantains, and pepper vines.

From various causes this treaty and the supplementary agreement, failed to give that satisfaction in India which, from its terms, generally might be expected. It was alleged that Sir John Bowring was outwitted; that a consciousness of this led to the mission of Mr. Parkes, to amend the treaty; that the mender had done no better than the original maker; that the treaty with Siam was practically a nullity; and that the opening up of the commerce of that country is yet a *desideratum*. It is certain that several of the stipulations are useless, and others mischievous, laying the foundation for future disagreements; but on the whole the treaty and its supplement must appear to those, not initiated in the tricks of Eastern trade and the subterfuges of Eastern diplomatists, as fair and reasonable. Better terms would have been desirable; but so far, something considerable was accomplished by her majesty's negotiators, which may lead, and is likely to lead, to more intelligent and liberal arrangements. It is well that some of the best organs of public opinion, both in England and in India, appreciate what has been done. One of the best edited publications in India, *The Bombay Quarterly** expresses its approval in no measured terms:—"It establishes a just and reasonable scale of duties, destroys monopoly, and offers every inducement to increased cultivation and enterprise on the part of the Siamese. It is very creditable to their present monarchy to have so freely overthrown the previously existing system of

* July, 1857.

taxation, and to have adopted a liberal policy before unknown to the country. The innovation was startling, and it required considerable foresight and faith in principles to introduce it without preliminary experience. In taking this step, the kings abandoned their former sources of revenue, and trusted entirely to the effect of a moderate tariff, and to the rapid increase of transactions under its fostering influences. The abolition of the corn laws, and the reduction to penny postage—measures forced out of our own government—in no way adequately represent the comparative magnitude of the reform now freely accorded by the sovereigns of Siam."

The same writer again expresses himself in his review of the treaty, and of the spirit and policy of the Siamese government, in these hopeful terms:—"We are inclined to believe that the measure, concluded by the moderation and good management of Sir John Bowring, may be but the first stride of a people rapidly and continuously proceeding up the scale of civilization." That there are good grounds for such a hope must be evident to all who look into the circumstances of that country, and who consider the spirit of its rulers. The climate is one of the finest in the East, although the mean temperature is as high as 84°. It is a healthy country, there being few places in the world where instances of longevity are so frequently met with. The American missionaries, who have been the benefactors of the country, say that it is not at all uncommon to meet with persons whose age exceeds a century.

The productions of the country may, as already observed, be seen from the list of commodities in the tariff appended to the treaty. The articles which form the grand staple of Siamese exports, are, sugar, pepper, cotton, hemp, rice, metals, gums, cardanums, gamboge, ivory, horns, hides, silks, sapan-wood, &c. The cotton of Siam is of the finest quality yet discovered, and in the growing demand for this commodity, and the slowness of America and India in approaching the pace of that progress, Siam may become a grand mart for its production. Soil, climate, facilities of river navigation, and the enlightened character of the government, all combine to justify this prospect. There are other valuable productions capable of vastly enlarging its commerce: the finest and purest copper exists in great abundance; there are also tin, lead, zinc, antimony, and iron. It is alleged that there are auriferous districts in Siam rivalling any existing elsewhere; certainly gold has been obtained there by the natives in quantities which sustain such an opinion. Silver, it is supposed, will yet be

obtained there in sufficient quantities to readjust the relative value between it and gold. Precious stones are also abundant in districts much resembling those in which they are found in Ava. A French gentleman, travelling in a hilly district for a short distance, gathered in the course of his progress two handfuls of rubies, topazes, garnets, and sapphires.

The rice and sugar exports might be vastly increased by British merchants and capitalists settling in other places as well as Bangkok.

The chief import of Siam is, unhappily, opium. This, however, is consumed in a great proportion by the Chinese, who are very numerous at Bangkok and elsewhere, and who serve the country by their industry. The religious belief of the majority of the Chinese being identical with that of the Siamese, and the habits of the two people being similar in many respects, the Chinese are allowed to settle in the country, where, as usual, they work hard and thrive well.

The time which has elapsed since the signatures of the plenipotentiaries were attached to the agreement supplementary to the treaty has been so very short, that it is difficult to gather from its events the probabilities of the future. By way of China it is reported that the effect has been surprising. During a decennial period, previous to the treaty, the average number of vessels entering the river of Bangkok from foreign parts was *ten*; since the treaty the number has increased twenty-fold; a progress unparalleled in any part of the Asiatic world.

The area of the country is not less than two hundred thousand square miles, well watered by mountain streams and by undulating rivers, which enrich a large portion of country suitable for rice and other tropical commodities. Besides the great distance which the navigable rivers enable ships to pass to the interior, there are innumerable canals suitable to boat navigation, in which art the people are very expert. There is a very important consideration connected with the commerce between India and Siam, which has not yet sufficiently engaged the attention of engineers and scientific persons acquainted with the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is alleged that water communication could easily be opened between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam across the isthmus, so as to save the comparatively long voyage round by the Straits of Malacca. By an examination of Wyld's maps, with scale, the reader will perceive how considerable a space might be saved by a ship canal, so as to avoid the *détour* of the Straits. The direct distance

Many begged their bread, whose deposits in the hands of the speculators had amounted to a handsome fortune. Upon them the desolation permanently rested; but the traders, after passing the ordeal of failure, of composition, or bankruptcy, began again, and soon lived in the same splendour, and easily found fresh victims—so credulous and ignorant were the respectable classes from whom this plunder was gleaned. Calcutta obtained an unenviable notoriety in this species of piracy. One house there failed for a sum which would have been incredible, if named beforehand—amounting to four millions sterling! The assets were a little more than a shilling in the pound. It must not be supposed by the astonished reader that this illustrious “house” stood alone; it was surrounded by others almost as great. One of these failed for only £300,000 less than the amount of the liabilities of the former; another for three millions six hundred thousand sterling; a fourth for three millions; a fifth for two millions and a quarter: but these houses paid on an average a fifth of their obligations. More than eleven millions sterling was lost to the community by the failure of six houses, after all their assets were valued and applied.

The individuals who entailed all this misery by means so palpably culpable, did not “lose caste” (as the natives would say); they were treated by the officers of government, and by the commercial world more particularly, as unfortunate; but the moral effect upon the European and native communities, as well as upon the character of English commerce, was soon obvious. The civil and military functionaries did not so generally leave their money in the custody of these houses. The native capitalists, themselves frequently dishonest, had been outwitted and lost much; they therefore became more timid of trusting their money in the hands of Englishmen. The traders succeeded in regaining the confidence of European officials, or at least of gaining new victims in that class, long before any considerable number of natives were caught in the same trap. Credit slowly revived; by degrees officers, and the families of deceased officers, civilians, and Europeans in the humbler walks of trade, were again ensnared, to form a renewed illustration of the fraudulent system which had so largely obtained in banking and commercial transactions in the East.

One of the consequences of these failures was the establishment by the civil and military servants of banks, in which they could have confidence. The first of these was at Agra, whence branches were formed in various other great cities and stations. This institution

was followed by the Bank of Bengal, which started with a capital, or nominal capital, of five hundred thousand pounds; other establishments of a like kind, on a great scale, were speedily placed in competition with the first two, and all appeared to prosper. The nature of these banks was very peculiar; they have been with propriety described as “Loan Societies,” as their business consisted in lending money, chiefly to civil servants, on personal security; in cases of large advances some collateral security was taken, but not generally of a more substantial nature. Many of the shareholders were unable to pay “the calls” when the great custom (for there were plenty of borrowers) of the banks rendered it necessary to make them. These shareholders being civil servants were allowed to hold over their shares, the amount of the calls being treated as debts to the banks, and as the shares were at a premium, the holders were soon able to dispose of them, and after remitting the debt thus incurred, enjoyed a profit. The progress of the new banking establishments was as iniquitous as that of the old; and, finally, as disastrous. The very classes who had been plundered by the bankers of a former period, became in their turn fleecers of others. All the disclosures in the case of the British Bank, and other banking institutions in England, in 1857–8, appear to those acquainted with Indian banking incidents, from 1847 up to a recent period, as a mere repetition of what was so well known in Calcutta. Planters and merchants were befriended, until the entire capital of the banks were absorbed; indigo factories were jobbed on private account with bank funds; bank post bills, at a heavy discount, were received from directors as cash; paper of all descriptions was floated; liabilities of presidents and secretaries were transferred to the bank in the company’s books; young civilians were accommodated with loans at a heavy interest; all ordinary precaution and proper management were neglected; bills sent them for sale and remittance, on account of others, were disposed of, and the proceeds applied to stop a momentary gap;—although the directors must have known that they were insolvent, and that a month or two at most would witness the termination of their fictitious existence. The new houses of business were unable to obtain credit on the same facile terms as their predecessors, and were obliged to lean almost wholly on the banyans, a native class described in a former page. Many sircars, or native accountants, who had saved or gained money were now lenders; and the business of Calcutta more especially fell, so far as the capital was concerned, chiefly into native hands. These men bear them-

selves with intolerable insolence; they treated all Europeans, but especially those not engaged in the direct service of government, with most insulting contempt. They displayed the same spirit, in their own degree and opportunity, which the sepoy revolvers showed in 1857. The bitterest dislike and scorn for Europeans were openly avowed whenever the natives had a money power over them. The rognery of the banyans is more systematic and secure than that of his European customer, or servant, as he may almost be termed. The banyan cheats his English confederate in every conceivable way. He alleges that a higher price is paid for a commodity than is actually given, and he ships off an article inferior to the sample, entailing loss and financial and commercial disarrangement on the part of the English branch of the firm. The merchant in India in vain remonstrates, upbraids, denounces; the banyan only reiterates his innocence, and alleges that the evil doing has been in England, not with him; and, as he is a heavy creditor, disposes of the subject with one of those impudent and caustic sneers which the native has always at his command for a European in his power. A gentleman, well acquainted with the morality of Indian commerce, thus describes the course of trade as it proceeds in the present day:—

“Formerly all the London houses acting as agents for Calcutta and Bombay firms were possessed of ample means, and to a limited extent this is still the case. It was then the practice for these agents or correspondents to purchase or make advances against consignments of manufactured goods, either on their own account, or jointly with their Indian friends, who sold the invoice on arrival, and remitted home the proceeds in bills of exchange or in some article of produce. Under the new *régime* this is no longer the case. The London firm have a little credit and less money; but they cannot accept bills drawn against goods to be shipped either on the manufacturers' or their Indian friends' account. This done, the bills are discounted, and so the manufacturer is reimbursed. The goods—grey cloths from Manchester perhaps—are shipped; and then the London merchant, who has not paid a farthing for them, is enabled to draw against them on his India correspondent, through a bank, who takes the bill of lading for security; and in this way the shipper obtains hard cash, with which he buys another parcel of goods—metals, possibly—ships these, draws against them, and with these fresh means repeats the operation, which, it is clear, may be thus carried on to a large extent. Before the first parcel of goods can be sold at Bombay or Calcutta, the manufac-

turer's bill upon the shipper falls due, and is met by a renewal; that is, by another bill drawn in a similar manner, and understood to be for the purpose of being discounted, to enable the acceptor of the first bill to take it up, in other words, to pay it when presented.

“Meanwhile the goods arrive at their destination. The agent of the London bank who advanced money upon them holds the bills of lading; and to get these, and consequently the goods, the ‘Calcutta correspondent’ applies to his banyan, who at once does the needful, redeems the grey goods from their bondage, and sells them for his principal. The proceeds are now remitted home in sugar, or silk, or indigo, the bills of lading for which are forwarded to the London house, which at once draws against it, in order to meet the ‘renewals’ of the Manchester bills then falling due; finally, the produce-broker in Mincing Lane makes an advance to the importer on the arrival of the sugar or indigo, which enables him to redeem the bills of lading from the strong box of the bank, and the goods are sold.

“So long as the selling prices at both ends leave a shadow of profit over and above the amount of commissions and other charges, all goes on well. The shipper, the banker, the correspondent, the banyan, the London broker, the Manchester manufacturer, all are content. The operations are extended considerably, the commercial wheel is kept moving, money is made, the houses at both ends obtain the reputation of doing a large stroke of business, the partners are looked upon as sharp, shrewd men, and although there may be a few bad debts, a few losses, and now and then a heavy year, the books show a large amount of commissions earned. Still the banyan is a large creditor, though by interest, per centage, &c., he has cleared off more than the amount of their liabilities to him. One or two bad seasons follow rather rapidly; the house has invested largely in estates, an operation popularly termed developing the resources of the country; the banyan becomes rather more troublesome and overbearing than of wont; the senior partner takes alarm, withdraws with a hundred thousand pounds, and twelve-months afterwards the firm suspend payment for a million and a half sterling, at which nobody is in the least degree surprised, except the banyan, who wonders how they managed to keep up so long. This, reader, is a faint, and no doubt an imperfect sketch of the course of operations of an Indian commercial house of the present time; and it deserves a place in these pages, as illustrative of that Saxon energy of character, that fine spirit of enterprise which so distinguishes the

that astronomy was at a very remote period cultivated by the Hindoos, and that the probability is that they derived it, with the elements of their religion, from the Chaldeans. For very many centuries the Hindoo philosophers made no progress; and since the first settlement of Europeans on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, any scientific progression is due to what has been learned from them.

The works transmitted to the present time are scientific treatises and tables. The principal among the former is called the *Surya Siddhanta*, upon which those of the latter description have been based. The pretensions made for the extreme antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta* have vanished before proper investigation. Of the tables based upon this book there are four, known to Europeans as the *Tirvalore Tables*.

It has been observed that the Hindoos divided the zodiac, and designate those divisions, in nearly the same manner as the Arabs, from whom the European mode is derived. The signs are thus noted:—

Mesha, the Ram.
Frisha, the Bull.
Mit'hunna, the Pair.
Carcota, the Crab.
Sinha, the Lion.
Canya, the Virgin.
Tula, the Balance.
Vrischica, the Scorpion.
Dhanus, the Bow.
Macara, the Sea-monster.
Cumbha, the Ewer.
Mina, the Fish.

The imperfect notion of the planetary system from which our days of the week were originally taken is the same with theirs, showing also a common origin of their ancient system and our own. *Addita*, the sun; *Toma*, the moon; *Brahapati*, Jupiter; *Mangala*, Mars; *Bonta*, Mercury; *Souera*, Venus; *Sanni*, Saturn. Their week begins on Friday, and the days are thus named:—

1. <i>Soncravaram</i>	or day of Venus . . .	Friday.
2. <i>Sanicaram</i>	" Saturn . . .	Saturday.
3. <i>Additavaram</i>	" the Sun . . .	Sunday.
4. <i>Somavaram</i>	" the Moon . . .	Monday.
5. <i>Mangalavaram</i>	" Mars . . .	Tuesday.
6. <i>Bontavaram</i>	" Mercury . .	Wednesday.
7. <i>Brahapativaram</i>	" Jupiter . . .	Thursday.

To find the latitude of a place, the Hindoos observe the length of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon when the sun is in the equator, and compute the angle which their instrument makes with the line drawn from its top to the extremity of the shadow. The longitude is found by observations of lunar eclipses calculated from the meridian of Lanka, which passes through Ougein, in the Mahratta country.

A glance at the chronology of the Hindoos will appear in the opening chapter on their history. The claims made for their nation by the Brahmins, to an antiquity beyond the existence of man according to the Scripture account and the chronologies of Archbishop Usher, and Hales, are too absurd to require confutation. Those claims have been submitted to every test applicable to the subject, and the result has been irrefragable proof that they are spurious: the astronomical tests by which they have been tried have especially furnished a complete and obvious confutation, and a confirmation of the Christian Scriptures, wherever such could incidentally arise.

Closely connected with astronomy, mathematical science must of necessity be found; and accordingly the Hindoos, at a very remote period, had made progress in that science. They demonstrated the properties of triangles; they understood that of the area being expressed in the terms of the three sides; they were aware of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle. The *Surya Siddhanta*, already referred to, contains a treatise on mathematics as well as astronomy. Interwoven with many absurdities, this book contains a rational system of trigonometry, which differs entirely from that first known in Greece or Arabia. In fact, it is founded on a geometrical theorem, which was not known to the geometricians of Europe before the time of Vieta, about two hundred years ago. And it employs the sines of arcs, a thing unknown to the Greeks, who used the chords of the double arcs. The invention of sines has been attributed to the Arabs; but it is possible that they may have received this improvement in trigonometry, as well as the numeral characters, from India.*

The supposition of Professor Leslie (of the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh), that the Arabs derived their trigonometrical science and their numeral characters from India, is generally disputed; and some maintain, notwithstanding the high and well-grounded claims of the Hindoos to considerable attainments in geometry, that the Arabs had been their teachers, and that both had received their knowledge from a more ancient race. The invention of some signs by which to record and preserve the results of arithmetical computations seems almost as necessary as language itself, and would be undoubtedly coeval with, if not anterior to, written language. According to Prescott, the Mexicans had from time immemorial signs for numbers; Humboldt also affirms this. Algebraic signs have given rise to similar discussion, arising

* *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—Geometry.

from the facts, that we have received these signs from the Arabians, and that their neighbours, the Hindoos, possessed the like from an extreme antiquity. It seems a palpable *non sequitur* to affirm that the Arabians derived this invention from the Indians; but the admirers of the latter very energetically maintain it on no better evidence. The algebraic forms which Europe obtained from Arabia were little better than signs for words; they were rather stenographic than scientific. Mr. Colebrooke, the great Sanserit scholar, attributes to the Arabians a knowledge of algebra anterior to that possessed by the Hindoos, but he considers it next to certain that they derived it immediately from the Greeks. He, however, gives the Hindoos credit for an independent progress, displaying superior mental endowments, perseverance, and discriminating study, and indicating a high degree of very early civilization. Mr. Mill, who is extremely jealous of the claims of that race to any considerable civilization at a remote period, takes advantage of an admission of Mr. Colebrooke, that the object for which the Hindoos studied mathematics was to aid them in astrology, and that astronomy was pursued for astrological purposes. Upon this acknowledgment Mr. Mill founds a decision, so far as Mr. Colebrooke's evidence goes, that the civilization of the Hindoos must have been inferior when sciences of such value were prosecuted for objects so worthless and foolish. Professor Wilson, whose edition of Mill is more properly a confutation than a continuation of that work, makes the following remarks:—"The authority of Professor Wallace is recognised by Mr. Mill, and his conclusions from Mr. Colebrooke's publication are of a very different complexion from those of the text. The *Surya Siddhanta*, he states, contains a very rational system of trigonometry. In expressing the radius of a circle in parts of the circumference the Hindoos are quite singular. Ptolemy, and the Greek mathematicians, in their division of the radius, preserved no reference to the circumference. The use of sines, as it was unknown to the Greeks, forms a difference between theirs and the Indian trigonometry. Their rule for the computation of the lines is a considerable refinement in science first practised by the mathematician Briggs. However ancient a book may be in which a system of trigonometry occurs, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of the science. Geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Surya Siddhanta*. The age of Brahmagupta is fixed with great probability to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, a period earlier than the first dawn of

Arabian sciences. Aryabhatta appears to have written as far back as the fifth century, or earlier; he was therefore almost as old as the Greek algebraist Diophantus. The *Lilavati* treats of arithmetic, and contains not only the common rules of that science, but the application of these to various questions on interest, barter, mixtures, combinations, permutations, sums of progression, indeterminate problems, and mensuration of surfaces and solids. The rules are found to be exact, and nearly as simple as in the present state of analytical investigation. The numerical results are readily deduced; and if they be compared with the earliest specimens of Greek calculation, the advantages of the decimal notation are placed in a striking light. In geometry, though inferior in excellence to the algebra, there is much deserving of attention. We have here the celebrated proposition that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle, and other propositions, which form part of the system of modern geometry. There is one proposition remarkable—namely, that which discovers the area of a triangle when its three sides are known. This does not seem to have been known to the ancient Greek geometers. In algebra the Hindoos understood well the arithmetic of square roots, and the general resolutions of equations of the second degree, which it is not clear that Diophantus knew—that they attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree—which it is certain Diophantus had not attained—and a method of deriving a multitude of answers to problems of the second degree when one solution was discovered by trial, which is as near an approach to a general solution as was made until the time of La Grange. Professor Wallace concludes by adopting the opinion of Playfair on this subject—"that before an author could think of embodying a treatise of algebra in the heart of a system of astronomy, and turning the researches of the one science to the purposes of the other, both must have been in such a state of advance as the lapse of several ages and many repeated efforts of inventors were required to produce." This is unanswerable evidence in favour of the antiquity, originality, and advance of Hindoo mathematical science, and is fatal to all Mr. Mill's references and conjectures. We have also historical evidence that the Arabs derived their mathematical sciences in part from the Hindoos; and we have every reason, from the differences of method, and in some instances superiority of progress, as well as from the absence of all evidence to the contrary, to conclude that the

sticks. By these the ground was loosened, until spades and shovels, and not long after ploughs, were invented. All these implements were well known in the time of Moses. (Deut. xxiii. 13; Gen. xlv. 6; Job i. 14.) The first plough was doubtless nothing more than a stout limb of a tree, from which projected another shortened and pointed limb. This being turned into the ground made the furrows; while at the further end of the longer branch was fastened a transverse yoke, to which the oxen were harnessed. At last a handle was added, by which the plough might be guided. So that the plough was composed of four parts; the beam, the yoke, which was attached to the beam, the handle, and what we should call the coulter. (1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Micah iv. 3.)* It was necessary for the ploughman constantly and firmly to hold the handle of the plough, which had no wheels; and that no spot might remain untouched, to lean forward and fix his eyes steadily upon it. (Luke ix. 62.)† The staff by which the coulter was cleared served for an ox-goad. In the East, at the present day, they use a pole about eight feet in length, at the largest end of which is fixed a flat piece of iron for clearing the plough, and at the other end a spike for spurring the oxen. Hence, it appears that a goad might answer the purpose of a spear, which indeed had the same name. (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Judg. iii. 31.) Sometimes a scourge was applied to the oxen. (Is. x. 26; Nah. iii. 2.) There seems to have been no other harrow than a thick clump of wood, borne down by a weight, or a man sitting upon it, and drawn over the ploughed field by oxen; the same which the Egyptians use at the present time. In this way the turfs were broken in pieces. At a later period wicker-drags came into use, which Pliny mentions, (N. H. xviii. 43.) 'All the ancient vehicles were moved upon two wheels only.'‡ Those used for agricultural purposes were extremely rude in construction.

The spirit of patient industry manifested by the natives is worthy of the highest praise. Were they not so wedded to their customs, and prejudiced against even the most advantageous changes, lest innovation should in any way affect their religion, or their injurious social distinctions, they are capable of carrying out improvements, originated by others, to ultimate success. Mr. Capper says that where irrigation has not been provided on a large scale by the local governments, it is throughout many parts of the country per-

formed by the villagers themselves. "For miles the patient Hindoo will carry the tiny stream of water along the brow of mountains, round steep declivities, and across yawning gulfs over valleys, his primitive aqueducts being formed of stones, troughs, and hollow bamboos. Sometimes, in order to bring the supply of water to the necessary height, a bucket-wheel is employed, worked by oxen."

The following description of the dangers and difficulties of the poorer Indian agriculturist excites sympathy and interest, as well as furnishes information of the state of the ryots:—"Harvest-time is a season of anxiety to the Indian cultivator; for there are many destructive foes ready at this time to prey upon his little field. His sugar-canes may be swept away in one night by the ravages of the elephant, the wild boar, or the porcupine; his tobacco may be uprooted or trampled down by herds of wild swine; and his grain may be devoured in the ear, in open day, by flights of birds, which are everywhere most numerous and harassing. To guard against all these calamities, the ryot is compelled at the critical season to mount guard over his little tract of produce, which he usually does perched up in a sort of jungle-stage, open on all sides but covered at the top, whence he is able to watch the whole extent of his field, and by dint of cries and sundry artificial sounds, he is enabled to scare away all unwelcome intruders. The harvest being secured, the grain is trodden out by the feet of buffaloes, and the little that may remain, if indeed it be any, is carefully stored in deep pits lined with straw; but in too many cases all that the ryot retains possession of will be just sufficient for seed for his little tract of land at the next sowing time." With the above statements the accounts given by all modern travellers in India agree, who are not committed to some particular theory, religious, philosophical, or political, in connection with the character of the people, the country, or the government.

The art of weaving has been referred to when treating of the commerce of the country, the perfection to which the natives of India have for ages brought their manufacture of cotton and silk is notorious. In this the Indians share a reputation common to Asiatic nations from time immemorial. Some have attributed the art of weaving to the Hindoos, but it is certain that the Persians attained high eminence in it as far back as history can trace their usages. Pliny attributes the invention to Semiramis. According to Mr. Bryant it was in the city of Arachne that the art was first carried to any degree of perfec-

* Pliny (N. H. xviii. 47) speaks of ploughs constructed with wheels, which in his day were of recent invention.

† Pliny, N. H. xviii. 49, No. 2.

‡ Ward's *Library of Standard Divinity*.

tion. Mr. Mill describes the process of the manufacture in India as extremely rude:—"That ingenuity is in its infancy among the Hindoos, is shown by the rudeness still observable in the instruments of this their favourite art. The Hindoo loom, with all its appurtenances, is coarse and ill-fashioned to a degree, hardly less surprising than the fineness of the commodity which it is the instrument of producing. It consists of little else than a few sticks or pieces of wood, nearly in the state in which nature produced them, connected together by the rudest contrivances. There is not so much as an expedient for rolling up the warp. It is stretched out at the full length of the web, which makes the house of the weaver insufficient to contain him; he is therefore obliged to work continually in the open air, and every return of inclement weather interrupts him."

Dyeing, and printing on cloths, were arts as ancient probably as weaving; it appears to have been so with the Hindoos, for in all ages of which we have any record, their dyers were celebrated. Tennant, in his *Indian Recreations*, describes the beauty of "the painted cloths," which he appears to designate as painted because the dye was applied to them instead of the cloth being dipped in a vat. Staining by application of the colouring matter to the fabric was the most ancient form of dyeing. Tennant attributes the richness, brilliancy, and durability of the colours to the climate and the clearness of the water; but in many places the rivers of India, especially the large rivers, hold much earthy matter in solution, and are rendered opaque or discoloured by the substances which they carry in their current: the Brahmapootra and Ganges are so through a large extent of their course. It is more likely that the patient and ingenious method of preparing the dye stuffs, and the length of time taken in the processes of their application, will account for the purity and permanency of colours in Indian textile fabrics.

The fine arts never flourished in India, although instances of genius and taste in this department have not been wanting there in either ancient or modern times. Those arts, however, which, without being classed with the fine arts, border on their domain and partake of their character, were much better known.

The jewellery of the Bengalees has been referred to in previous chapters. At the museum of the India-house magnificent specimens of the skill and taste of the Indian jeweller attest the talent of the natives in polishing gems and precious stones, and the chasing of gold and silver. These works are

accomplished by the simplest tools, two or three of the rudest kind serving the purpose of numerous instruments of ingenious and scientific construction, which would be used in European processes. The time consumed by the oriental workman is, however, in proportion to the common construction of his tools. The rose chains of Trichinopoly exemplify the skill displayed in working the precious metals. The inlaid-work of Benares rivals most executions of Indian skill. Although the setting of precious stones is a work on which the Hindoos pride themselves, and for which many English writers demand large praise on their behalf, others impugn their taste in this particular occupation:—"Scarcely equal to their other productions are the works of the Indian jewellers: the setting of precious stones forms an exception to the general good taste and high finish of Eastern artificers. There is invariably a heaviness and total absence of propriety in the jewelled ornaments of India, which, despite the rare beauty of the gems, and the richness and profusion of the ornamental work lavished upon them, cannot fail to strike an European eye as singularly in contrast with their other mechanical productions, whether of the loom, the forge, or the crucible."*

The pottery of the Hindoos assumes the character of artistic excellence. In its general features it resembles the pottery of Egypt, and ancient specimens of the former rival in beauty the best specimens of the latter. Bengal is the chief seat of this art. In the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851, the Indian department was rich in specimens; and in the South Kensington Museum, and in the Museum of the India-house, specimens are to be seen of kindred character.

Marble and petra dura vases, garden seats, ornamental vessels, and figures, are executed by the Indians with much delicacy and propriety of style. Specimens of such works may be seen in the London museums above-named.

The architecture of the Hindoos has of late years engaged much attention, and, like everything else connected with India, excited much discussion. There are two classes of architectural remains in India, which are very distinct: one class is of constructions cut in rocks, or formed in eaves, the other of raised buildings. The notices of both have been so numerous when describing the various districts and cities in which they are, that it will not be necessary to dwell long on the subject here. The cave temples of Ellora, Ajunta, Elephanta, and Cashmere, are wonderful for their number. The mountains of Cashmere

* *The Three Presidencies of India.*

together in greater or less numbers, and the whole mass is surrounded by a fortified wall. At Palacetana especially, where, arranged in street after street, and square after square, and interspersed with subordinate buildings of a palatial character, with terraces, with reservoirs of water, and with gardens, they cover the rocky summit of the mountain, they impress the beholder with some such vivid ideas of sanctity, of beauty, and of power, as those with which the Jew of old must have contemplated, in her prime, the holy fortress-city of Mount Zion.

Perhaps the choicest examples of the style are those marble edifices which were erected about the middle of the eleventh century after Christ, upon Mount Aboo, and at Khoombhareca, upon the not far distant hill of Arasoor, by Veemul Sha, the viceregent of Bheem Dev I., King of Unhilpoor. At Khoombhareca the general features are almost identical with those of the Brahminical temples. At Aboo the temple of Veemul Sha has but one mundup, which is composed of forty-eight pillars, and is immediately connected with a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells, fifty-five in number, which enclose the principal temple on all sides, exactly as in a Buddhist *vechar*. Externally, this temple is perfectly unadorned, and as the subordinate cells are without spires, there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the shikur of the great temple peeping over the plain wall.

This system of connecting the central temple with the surrounding buildings, so as to form a more complete whole, is carried to perfection in the edifice which Koomblo Rana, of Odeypore, erected at Ranpore, near Sadree in Mewar, "in a deserted glen running into the western slope of the Aranallee, before his favourite fort of Komulmer." "It is nearly a square," says Mr. Fergusson, "200 feet by 225 feet, exclusive of the projection on each face. In the centre of this stands the great shrine, not, however, occupied as usual by one cell, but by four, or rather four great niches, in each of which is placed a statue of Adeenath or Rishabh Dev, the first and greatest of the Jain saints. Above this are four other niches similarly occupied, opening on the terraced roofs of the building. Near the four angles of the court are four other smaller shrines, and around them, or on each side of them, are twenty domes, supported by about 120 columns; four of these domes, the central ones of each group, are three stories in height, and tower above the others; and one, that facing the principal entrance, is supported by the very unusual number of sixteen columns, and is 56 feet in diameter, the others being only

24 feet. Light is admitted to the building by four uncovered courts, and the whole is surrounded by a range of cells, most of them unoccupied, each of which has a pyramidal roof of its own. The immense number of parts in the building, and their general smallness, prevent its laying claim to anything like architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—and the grace with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed, I know of no other building in India of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in an interior."

In their religious buildings the Mohammedans borrowed largely from the Hindoos, although bringing with them a style of architecture peculiar to themselves. The *Builder*, a professional periodical published in London, and celebrated for its architectural lore, has suggested that the derivation of western religious architecture from the East is more easily traceable than many suppose, and, *apropos*, relates the following anecdote:—"I remember once standing before the magnificent west front of Peterborough Cathedral, in company with an old Indian officer, when he said, 'Why, this is just what we see throughout the East; huge pointed portals running up to the top of the building; spires, pinnacles—everything like the minarets—the aspiring character of Mussulman architecture.' And this style came into general use very shortly after the great crusade. We do not say that the dogma *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is always correct, but surely it is in this instance."

It should be remembered that the oldest architectural monuments in India are religious, and were not erected by the Brahmins, but by the seceders from the Brahminical religion, who adopted the Buddhist creed. The *lots* are the oldest of these, and are undoubtedly of an antiquity which can be traced for nearly two thousand two hundred years. They are pillars, technically called *monoliths*, very slender and graceful, and apparently erected for the purpose of receiving inscriptions. They are generally about forty feet high, and are surmounted by capitals crowned with seated lions. There are ornaments upon them which connect them with the architecture of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. These *lots* were placed before buildings set apart for worship, serving in this respect as "the keertee stambhees and deep malas" of mediæval and modern Hindoo architecture;

and as the two pillars—Joakim and Boaz—which Solomon placed before the temple in Jerusalem. The lats were placed before the buildings called *topes*. In Central India, at Sanehi, near Bhilastone, of the best preserved of these is to be seen, although its antiquity is very great, dating more than a century before the Christian era. "The *topes* were domed structures, rising from a circular and sloping base, and crowned by a square terminal with projecting cornice. A broad double ramp, or sloping platform, such as that which conducts to the summit of the Campanile of St. Mark, Venice, afforded access to the top of the base, and at this level there ran round the foot of the dome a balustraded terrace, which was probably employed in the circumambulations commonly used in the Buddhist ceremonials, as in those of the nations of classical antiquity, of the British Druids, and of the disciples of the Paorans. The *topes* sometimes contained relie chambers called *dagobas*, at other times they were mere solid mounds of brickwork faced with stone, over which was laid a thick coating of cement, adorned either with painting or ornaments in relief. The terminal, which was called a *ter*, consisted of a square box, probably at first of wood, and afterwards copied in stone; around the upper part of it was a frieze of horse-shoe-shaped window heads, and the cornice was formed by three horizontal slabs projecting one beyond the other. There can be very little doubt that it was, or at all events represented, a *chasse*, or relie box, and it is more than probable that originally the relie was placed not in the *tope*, but on the top of it; a supposition which would account for the absence of relie-chambers in one class of these structures. The terminal appears to have been frequently surmounted by one or more umbrellas—the common symbols of regal state—which, originally of wood, but afterwards copied in stone, assumed at length a strictly architectural character, and very nearly resembled the kulus, or water-vessel, which forms a common feature in temples of Vishnu or of Siva. The *tope* was enclosed by a balustrade of stone posts, connected by horizontal cross-pieces, and at regular intervals in the circle thus formed were four gateways. These consisted each of them of two square pillars richly sculptured, and terminating in bold elephant capitals; they rose above the balustrade, and were continued upwards beyond the capitals, forming, with three cross lintels, and the uprights inserted between them, frontispieces of a peculiar and striking character. In the immediate vicinity of the *tope*, caves and tumuli presented themselves to view, the former being the residences of

priests, the latter for the most part burying-places, perhaps in some instances smaller relie shrines. The tumuli of India now remaining have no features which would entitle them to be regarded as architectural objects, but are remarkably analogous to the barrows of Europe and other parts of the world; it is probable, however, that many of them, like the tombs of Ceylon, Thibet, and other Buddhist countries, were decorated similarly with the *topes*. The *dagobas*, or copies of them, occupied the sanctuaries of the cave temples."

The same authority supplies us with the following description of buildings for warlike purposes in the province where the style of sacred architecture just referred to is most generally found:—"The fortresses of Gujerat, such at least as are situated in the plains, are square, or nearly square, in form, with large gateways in the centre of each side, and outworks or barbicans in front, and second gateways in the sides of the outwork. At each corner is a bastion of the 'broken square' form, and four rectangular bastions intervened between each corner tower and the central gateway. The walls are of solid mason work, ornamented at intervals with sculptured bands, and completed by semicircular *kangras*, or battlements, screening the platformed way in the interior, along which the warders passed. The gateway resembles the nave of a southern choultry: there are six engaged pillars on either side, from which springs large brackets, or rather systems of three rows of bracketing, and upon these is laid a flat stone roof.† A colonnade follows the line of the walls on the inside, forming a lengthened covered portico, with a broad platform above. Each fortress contains reservoirs of water of two kinds: the first tank, the *suroeur* or *tulow*; the second is the well, the *war* or *howler*. Besides the sacred edifices and fortresses of the Hindoos, there are various other architectural remains.

The tanks may be considered not only as great and useful public works, but as affording in many cases opportunities for architectural skill and taste. These works were stupendous, covering frequently an area of several miles. Temples were built round their edges, and shrines were placed on the steps leading to them. This, however, was not so generally the case when they were constructed for irrigation, as when intended for religious lavations. At Veerumganm there is a tank, which is crowned with three hundred shrines. At Unhilpore Puttem there is a tank, the shrines and other archi-

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*.

† For a view of one of these gateways, see *Ras Mâlâ*, vol. i. pl. i. For plans and elevation of corner towers, see figs. 1 and 2, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, of the same work.

natives who appreciate good music; the masses of the people, and a large majority of the higher classes, certainly do not. On occasions of their festivals, the thumping of drums with their hands, the strange commingling of other instrumental sounds, with a hubbub of screaming voices, constitute an uproar of the most unendurable discord to the European, but a means of entertainment to the native that greatly conduces to his enjoyment. The finest military bands fail to awaken similar sensations. The singing by a native woman of one of their planxties would attract the roughest marauder, and detain the most time-bound traveller among the natives. The sepoys became accustomed to British tunes, and during the mutiny caused the captured European drummers and fifers to play *Cheer, boys, cheer*, and other tunes which served as marches. In the chapter on Ceylon it was shown how formidable to Europeans the beating of tom-toms, and screeching of dissonant pipes, constantly maintained day and night during the seasons of Buddhist religious ceremonies; along the coast of Coromandel and Malabar a similar din is kept up during certain seasons devoted to Brahminical or Mohammedan devotion.

The medical science of the natives of India, like most other of their attainments, has been a subject of discussion in Europe. Some have contended that the medical knowledge of the ancient Hindoos was derived from the Greeks; others have strenuously maintained that the Greeks derived all their knowledge of medicine and the healing art from oriental sources. The most ancient book on medical subjects extant in India is the *Ayur Veda*, this work is attributed by the Brahmins to Brahma himself; from the notices which oriental scholars afford of it, the ancient state of medical science in India was extremely rude. Certain other works, those of Susruta and Charaka, contribute some little additional knowledge of early Hindoo medical knowledge. From all the records we possess, it appears that anatomy formed the basis of the medical and surgical arts. The laws of caste do not appear to have interfered materially with the study of anatomy, the end, in the eyes of the Brahmins, sanctified the deed. From their anatomical researches they obviously understood the danger of wounds inflicted upon various parts of the person inducing tetanus; their ideas of the nervous system were confused and contradictory, but the existence of such a system was known. According to Wise's *Hindoo System of Medicine*, life consists of the soul, mind, physical senses, and the moral qualities of weakness, passion, and

goodness. The vital principle is supposed to reside in the centre of the man, which, according to "the system," is in his chest, and is believed to be a mingling of all the human qualities.

Death is the separation of the soul from the body. It occurs naturally from old age, but it happens also in a hundred other ways, chiefly caused by sin either in the present or a former state of existence. Disease has its origin from sin, from derangement of the humours of the body, or from both those causes together. From the first and third of these sources, mortal diseases originate; those derived from the second medicine are curable by skillful treatment.

The number of diseases attributable to these media are exceedingly numerous. Measles and small-pox were well known to the Hindoos in remote antiquity, and there are proofs that the latter was propagated from Asia to Europe, and some writers say from India. Inoculation was resorted to at an early stage of Hindoo civilization, but it seems rather to have spread the disease, although in a less virulent form. The beri-beri, a dropsical disease, prevalent in both Western and Eastern India,—although not common on the highlands of the Deccan, nor in Hindostan proper,—is an ancient disease. Rheumatisms prevail after the monsoons, and among those who work in the paddy-fields,—and this appears to have been the case as far back as can be traced. Leprosy prevailed in ancient India as in other Asiatic nations; and epilepsy, so common to northern and western Asia, has been also common in India from remote ages. "We find, in their medical treatises, mention made of sixty-five diseases of the mouth, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, eleven qualities of headache, besides an infinity of disorders of the throat. Mention is likewise made of consumption, as though it were not only of frequent occurrence, but oftentimes fatal in its result. The study of poisons and their antidotes formed by no means an insignificant portion of medical study among the Hindoo practitioners of all ages; a fact which, considering the oriental fashion of getting rid of an enemy by this means, is not to be wondered at. There was also the study of animal poisons; the dissertations upon the bites of snakes, poisonous insects, &c., are numerous, and at the same time in accordance with the practice of experienced surgeons of the present day. Hydrophobia was also known, and prescribed for in a variety of forms." It appears that the Hindoos possessed some herbal agency specific in that disease.

The general mode of treatment was influenced by superstition,—forms and ceremonies, as various as they were useless, were prescribed for the physician as well as the patient; and when the disease was incurable, the object seems to have been to hasten death by abstinence, mental excitement, or even suicide.

There is a striking resemblance in the treatment by the physicians in India to that relied upon by those of Ceylon and China. The medical system became at once more complicated and at the same time more superstitious after the introduction of Buddhism, although, according to the Institutions of Menu, very absurd obligations were laid upon the patient in cases of hopeless malady; thus, one article of that famous code ordains, "If a disease be incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path towards the invisible north-eastern point, feeding on air and water until his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become linked with the supreme being."

The *Materia Medica* of the Hindoos embraces not only a vast number of drugs and vegetable simples abounding in their country, but a variety of chemical compounds, as well as acids and some of the oxides, with the uses of which they appear to have been conversant from an early period. Their pharmacy, although embracing many matters of value, and in some parts much in accordance with European practice, is nevertheless so overcrowded with innumerable substances as to bewilder and perplex the student. They employed in their pharmacy preparations of mercury, gold, zinc, iron, and arsenic to a degree that could scarcely have been expected from people who blended so much of the fabulous and the absurd in their practice. In their measures of time they commenced with fifteen winks of the eye; and their apothecaries might begin with four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as they enter a dark room. The rules laid down for the administering of medicinal doses are minute to tediousness; and among other things it is expressly stated that the patient must not make faces when taking medicine, as by doing so he would be like Brahma and Siva, and therefore commit a great sin.

However deficient we find the present race of Hindoo practitioners in the science of surgery, there is no doubt but that their ancestors possessed a skill in the performance of delicate and dangerous operations scarcely to have been expected in those days. The treatises still extant on these subjects are good proof of the state of their surgery, which, however, was evidently, as in other

branches of the art, mixed up with much puerility and childish superstition. Certain times were to be selected for the performance of operations; devils were to be driven away from the wound by burning certain sweet-scented flowers; the patient and operator must be placed in certain relative positions, and other observances equally frivolous and absurd.*

The philosophy of the Hindoos was speculative rather than practical. Their speculations were *de natura deorum*, or concerning the ultimate destiny of man, and the best means of promoting in this world a desirable condition in a future state of existence. Their philosophy and their theology are identical, and both, as has been shown in the chapter on the religions of India, are derived from the most ancient forms of the Chaldean and Persian, and are corruptions of both. In the system of Zoroaster, and that of the Brahmins, we find the same lofty expressions concerning the invisible powers of nature; the same absurdity in the notions respecting the creation; the same infinite and absurd ritual; the same justness in many ideas respecting the common affairs of life and morality; the same gross misunderstanding in others; but a striking resemblance between the two systems, both in their absurdities and perfections. The same turn of imagination seems to have belonged to the authors of both; and the same aspect of nature to have continually presented itself; the deformities, however, of the Hindoo system being always the greatest.†

That the Hindoos at a very early period cultivated metaphysics, Doctor H. Hayman Wilson,‡ and M. Cousin,§ have conclusively showed; but that their attainments were entitled to the praise bestowed by those eminent persons may well be denied.

The love of metaphysical and ethical speculation, so characteristic of the ancient Hindoos, has descended to the modern inhabitants of India, whether Brahmin or Mohammedan. Gibbon says that "metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of Mohammedans as well as those of the Christians;" and that this remark will apply to India Mr. E. Elphinstone confirms, for he says that, "if the rude Affghan is ever stimulated to any degree of literary activity, it is when pursuing the subtleties of metaphysical speculation."

The philosophical theory of materialism in

* John Capper, F.R.A.S.

† Mill's *British India*.

‡ *Notes on Mill's British India*.

§ *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*. Par M. V. Cousin.

debted to Persian records and the living testimony of persons in the service of Persia for what they knew of India. From what can be gathered of ancient life in India from the Sanscrit records made available to us either by translation or the accounts given from them by Sanscrit scholars, and from the notices of India in the classics, it may be inferred that the India of to-day is identical with the India of remote antiquity, except so far as modern European influence has effected changes. But notwithstanding that so much has been altered in the condition of India and its government by successive invasions, Mohammedan and European, the multitudinous population can faithfully refuse to adopt the trite admission of other peoples—

“O tempora mutantur, et mutamur cum illos!”

Dr. Hayman Wilson, who is probably better acquainted with India of the olden time than any other man, says that such is the permanent character of oriental, and more especially Hindoo customs, that the India of to-day reveals to us what it was in the remotest period of which we have any record.

The aboriginal inhabitants were probably of the same race with the ancient Ethiopians, for both are frequently referred to as one people in ancient writings. The race which we call *Hindoos* called themselves in the remotest periods *Arryans*; and the earliest Arryan writings refer to the aborigines in terms which show a strong natural distaste, pride of race, and some religious difference, but this last is not so prominent as the social and tribal antipathy. There are indications also of great difference in the complexion of the invaders and the invaded: the latter being dark, as the natives of India now generally are, especially in the south, the higher classes of the former fair, and the other classes of various degrees of colour. It is obvious that the race has received a much deeper tint after so many ages of exposure to the burning climate of India. So much is this the case, that the Brahmins, who, according to the glimpses given of them in early writings, were fair, are now in Southern India blacker than the Egyptians.

The first settlers were driven by the Hindoo incursions to the south, and their descendants in the Deccan, in the hill country, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, are black. Early references to the complexions of the Arryans represent the Brahmins as fair, the warrior class brown, the trading class yellow, and the servile class black. This description has been generally considered figurative, as indicative of the relative social dignity and qualities of the

respective classes; but even if it be so, the estimate in which colour was held is sufficiently indicated. It is probable, however, that the description was intended literally. The ecclesiastical caste, less exposed to climate, and having come from a northern latitude, would be naturally fair; the military class would be bronzed by the exposure to the elements attendant upon their profession; the trading classes would, partly from exposure in cities, and partly from their peculiar occupations when indoors, receive a tint less russet than the warriors, but sallow, and unlike the complexion of those of higher-class habits, having superior and cooler dwellings, and more frequently having recourse to ablutions; the servile class would probably be composed of another race, coming in with the invaders, and acting under their orders, and mingled with the aborigines, who were despised for their colour, as well as for other peculiarities deemed attributes of inferiority.

The races of the invaded and the invaders are still somewhat defined by the languages. Southern India, which, by the pure Hindoo, is not considered holy ground, is inhabited by people speaking languages not of the Arryan stock; and although many in Southern India to whom these tongues are vernacular are of Arryan origin, yet the fact of those dialects of an ancient language being the vulgar tongues of these regions shows the predominating influence of a race or races not Arryan; whereas the prevalence north of the line, to the south of which these dialects are spoken, of languages of Sanscrit origin proves the prevalence of the descendants of the Arryan invaders and conquerors. Even now the contempt of the Hindoo or Arryan people for the tribes which are believed to have another origin, and where these tribes have not mingled with the dominant race, is intense. Thus, in the early social life of ancient India the bitterness of alien races existed as intensely as has been exhibited between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Goth and Slave, Saxon and Celt.

The Gonds, Bheels, Coolies, hill-men of Boglipore, and Kookies of Chittagong, are, with some minor tribes, considered aboriginal; and if their present condition be any evidence of what it was when the Arryans entered India, they must have been barbarous even in the eyes of their invaders.

The religious element must always be important in the social condition of a people. With the exception of the Jews, there probably never existed any who introduced their religious peculiarities so prominently in the everyday affairs of life as the people of Hindoostan whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or Mo-

hammedans. The Jews, indeed, although rigidly maintaining their religious observances, did not intrude them upon occasions naturally and conventionally unsuitable; but the Brahminical creed fills everything, and is felt everywhere, unpleasantly affecting strangers, like a tainted atmosphere. This was the case in the earliest ages of which we have note. In war or peace, in the drama or the tale, in politics and in private life, the gods, in all their absurdities of character and alleged operations, are introduced. An element of perverted devotion runs through all the social as well as individual being of India. The most impure and silly creatures of the imagination were adored, and a social existence attributed to the gods, which, in proportion as man admired, he must become intellectually and morally degraded. Not only are these gods everywhere, and all objects of nature themselves partaking of the divine, but one cannot walk in a solitary path by the river, or wander in the trackless woods, without the feeling that he may chance to put his foot upon, or stumble against, a deity. A little red paint smeared over a rock, or stone, a lump of clay, or a stump of a tree, makes a god of it, if the pigment be only applied in an orthodox manner. Before this the warrior and the noble bow, and the poor fall prostrate in adoration. Yet, with all this sameness of character in making the religious element appear everywhere, there is a wide diversity of creed and objects of adoration. "Any monster, any figure partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads and hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship. The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids, or semi-globes, and of plain human figures sitting cross-legged, or standing in a meditative posture, point out the temple or excavation of a Buddhist; the twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid announce a temple of the Jain." Ever since the foundation of the Buddhist and Jain religions this variety has existed, and yet the sameness of social character connected with it has been maintained. The Brahmins have changed much in the objects and in the ceremonies of divine worship, new gods and idols having been adopted with a political time-serving which speaks much against the sincerity of the devotees, yet the genius of Brahminism has been *semper eadem*. The rise and progress of Buddhism compelled the Brahmins to adapt themselves to the ecclesiastical exigencies of the times; the suppression of the rites of the Buddhists and Jains by violence, strangely wrought similar phenomena of change. It was necessary for the Brahmins to conciliate races and

parties who were attached to gods of their own, invented by themselves, or by some one for them, who was inventive in the line of god manufacturing. The worship of Rama and Krishnn, of Siva and Bhavani, was in this way intercalated among the devotions of more ancient deities. Brahminism from that date deteriorated; it gradually became less and less pure speculatively, and the unfavourable social influences of the system proceeded, *pari passu*, with the speculative decline. "Their religious rites have, in fact, degenerated to mere incantations, all directed to the same end, through the efficacy of a spell, and the requisite ceremonies have become so numerous and intricate, that no votary could accomplish them, were he to devote day and night to their performance."*

The existence of various tribes who all claim to be of Arryan stock would indicate that the original invaders were a federation of distinct tribes, or else that different portions of them mingled more or less with the aborigines, forming for their descendants distinctive personal and social characteristics. The placid but not unwarlike native of the south differs much from the timid Bengalee; and how unlike to either are the turbulent, sanguinary, and predatory Mahrattas. Between the Nerbuddah and the Indus almost all assume to be descendants of nobles or military chiefs, and are consequently called *Rajpoots* or *Rajwars*. These, governed by petty chiefs, waged, from time immemorial, savage warfare upon one another; their affinity of race seemed to inflame their mutual aggressive propensities. Mr. Walter Hamilton affirmed nearly forty years ago "that any general similitude of manners existed before the Mohammedan invasion is very doubtful, but certainly there are in modern times strong shades of difference in the character of the Hindoos dispersed over the several provinces." That there is some difference of character is obvious; but had Mr. Hamilton said creed, custom, race, and physical power, instead of character, he would have better expressed himself, for, notwithstanding the diversities in these respects, there is a strange identity of essential character among all the natives of British India. This moral monotone may be recognised throughout all the varieties of men and manners presented, although in "travelling through Hindostan, from Cape Comorin, up the Carnatic, the Deccan, and through Bengal, to Cashmere, an extent of about twenty-five degrees of latitude, under many general points of resemblance, a very great variety of habits, languages, and religious observances is perceptible—nearly as great as a native of

Hindustan and Adjacent Countries.

down by any government, and which should be suppressed merely as being hostile to the fundamental principles of authority in any state."

The utterance of such appeals to the law and to its ultimate resort, the sword, is transferred to the native journals, eagerly read by the native chiefs and Brahmins, and the word is sent round that their "holy religion is at stake," that "the infidels are making ready to destroy by force all that is sacred in the land, and which they inherited from their fathers." No wonder, if the better classes, who might otherwise be ready to embrace our civilization, meet the English as enemies, scowl upon them with the animosity of religious rancour, or smile upon them with that deceptive flattery of which the native is so capable, and which even serves to nurse his hatred. In such a state of things, how philosophical and how just the language of Indophilus:—"While our Indian government has, on the one hand, invited suspicion and encroachment by sensitive timidity, it has, on the other, prohibited self-immolation and infanticide, abolished slavery, withdrawn from open connection with idol temples, and permitted the remarriage of widows. It is time that our policy should be clearly defined. To rule with diligence, and to protect all classes of persons in the exercise of their lawful occupations, is the special duty of government; and no advantage can be gained by a confusion of functions. Our influence as a Christian government will chiefly depend upon our full and successful discharge of this duty. We cannot legislate for India as we should for a Christian country. Polygamy is an immoral and degrading practice, but nobody in his senses would propose to abolish polygamy by law in the present state of India. To prohibit the obscene representations with which the idol temples and cars are covered, would be to turn iconoclasts on a grand scale, and to attempt to put down the Hindoo religion by force. If we would avoid a violent reaction which would put an end to all hope of improvement, we must follow rather than anticipate public opinion; and to enlarge the knowledge of the natives, and to induce them to take correct views, is therefore the condition of all solid progress. In dealing with immoral and inhuman practices which arise from false religion, we must consider time and circumstances; but a great deal may be done consistently with a prudent regard to practical results. The courts and offices have always been closed on Sunday, and Lord Hardinge extended the observance to the public works; but, in addition to this, public business is suspended in deference to certain heathen festivals, the longest of which occurs

at the busiest time of the year. Every public servant should be allowed a certain number of working-days in the year for recreation, and the particular time at which each person takes his vacation should be a matter of mutual arrangement; but the public offices should, as a general rule, not be closed except for the necessary seventh day's rest. Caste is at the root of half the social evils of India. It is the life of Kulin polygamy; it promotes infanticide; elevates certain classes at the expense of others, whom it holds in a state of the most abject degradation, forbids the commonest offices of charity, and destroys all the kindly affections of our nature. The government ought not to interfere in an arbitrary manner with any man's caste; but let men of every caste and of no caste at all be equally admitted into the public service, and when they have been admitted let them be dealt with alike, and let not caste be pleaded as a ground of exemption from any duty. Caste would thus be placed on the same footing as drunkenness, which is not permitted to be pleaded as an excuse for any offence. If this system is faithfully acted upon, the school-bench,* the railway carriage, the public office, and the regimental company, in all of which the Christian, the Mohammedan, the Brahmin, and the Sudra will be found side by side, will in a few years extract the sting of caste, and reduce it to its proper level. These are, however, only the outward manifestations of a deep-seated disease, and if we would do effectual and permanent good, we must endeavour to operate upon the root of the evil. Many years ago some gentlemen at Calcutta formed a society to discourage cruel native practices, such as the exposure of the sick upon the banks of the Ganges, and the swinging on hooks fastened through the muscles of the back at the Charak Puja; but when they examined into the subject they found that these practices were so mixed up with the Hindoo religious system, and grew so directly out of it, that nothing short of the conversion of the natives to Christianity would effect any

* The following extract from the report of the director of public instruction under the Agra government, dated the 31st of October, 1855, relates to the Sangor school:—"The fact of a Chumar heading the second Persian class with 282 marks out of 300, the second boy being a Rajpoot, the four next Brahmins, the seventh a Kaitli, and the eighth a Mussulman, is deserving of note. The admission of the Chumar into the school had been violently opposed; some Brahmins left in consequence, but the committee remained firm, while the judicious treatment of the delicate question quieted the objecting parties. A similar case occurred a few months ago at the Hudson school, when the quiet determination of the authorities gained the day." The same thing had frequently occurred before, under the sanction of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta.

real moral change. The government has done all it can to put down Thuggee, but the seeds of Thuggee lie deep in the Hindoo religion; and the moment the repressive force is removed, Thuggee will spring up and flourish as much as ever. 'Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' The chief difficulties of our civil administration are traceable to the same source. What can be done for a people who dare not complain, who habitually disregard the truth, and who, when they are intrusted with power, too often deceive the government, and oppress their fellow-countrymen? We must, of course, do what we can, by paying well and punishing well, and administering cheap and simple justice; but the only effectual remedy is to begin at the foundation by educating the young and infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society. It is a great mistake to estimate the progress made towards the evangelization of India only by the number of persons baptized. If Christian truth is presented to the native mind by every available avenue, what is known in modern phrase as public opinion, will at last turn decidedly in its favour, and then a nation will be born in a day."

Of course the population of India, and more especially the high castes, would resist the purpose of Indophilus, as well as that expressed in the quotation from a missionary; they will do what *they* can to resist the infusion of Christianity, but the better classes of natives in India would not rebel on that account. They do distinguish between a desire on our part of "infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society," and an attempt by the sword to revolutionize their whole social system, and put down what is opposed to Christian ethics. The religious test established by Major Phillips at Cawnpore was sufficient to provoke insurrection, and was unchristian, for it was a breach of faith. Such a test is not consistent with the 87th clause of the act 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, which is justly regarded by the natives of India as a charter of their liberties:—"And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." If this charter of Hindoo liberty continue to be broken, as the people of India believe that it is broken, our efforts to conciliate them to our government and civilization, will be in vain,

and all our efforts to open a free communication between the English and native mind unavailing.

On the 22nd of February, 1858, a voluminous paper, or rather series of papers, was presented by the home government to the public, illustrating the feelings of the company, and the views by which on this subject they had been regulated. It contains the copy of a despatch from the East India Company to the governor-general of India, dated the 21st of April, 1847, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support of missionary efforts, and of despatches from the government at Calcutta, with a series of papers referred to therein, in reply to such despatch. The original despatch of the directors of the company (21st of April, 1847) runs as follows:—"You (the governor-general of India) are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted on by all our servants, civil and military. The government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should therefore be aware that while invested with public authority their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of the subject is taken in India, and we therefore deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent." A good deal of the correspondence which follows the despatch refers to the best and most politic mode of acting on the above injunction of the company, but the details are barren of interest. A mass of papers follow, relating to the temple of Juggernaut, the withdrawal of the government donation thereto, and the placing of a military guard within or without the temple, and including lengthy memorials from local missionaries of various persuasions.

It is desirable that our readers, and the people of England, should be convinced that a stern struggle has commenced between the people of India in defence of their religious rights, and a class of Englishmen who seek to invade those rights from the best of motives; and that this struggle tends to alienate from us the natives of India, and especially those classes upon whose intelligence reliance was placed for co-operation in the work of civilization. The grand barrier now to any melioration of the social condition

Michreepore, where the guards left them, repeating to them the injunctions they had already received. From this latter place they proceeded up to a place called Simarah, a few miles above Calpee, without much serious opposition, as the country was then comparatively peaceable. This last mentioned village stands on the bank of the river, to which they had been prohibited to go; but the boatmen, fancying that the navigation along it was comparatively easier, imprudently crossed over, and moored the boats, the number of which had increased to eight since they left Allahabad, on an adjoining chur. for the purpose of cooking their food. They had not, however, been long there before they could see a party of four or five hundred ruffians, mostly villagers, armed with swords, latees, and muskets too, descending down to the shore with an intention which they had no difficulty to conjecture. Fortunately, however, as the alarm had been given in time, they hastily got upon the boats any how they could, before the rascals could arrive on the spot and seize the boats. The river at this place being very narrow, the shouting and yelling of these desperadoes, furious at losing their prey, brought out masses of villagers on the other bank, to which the boatmen and the trembling, weak, and helpless pilgrims, were invited to come over, with offers of assistance and protection. But no sooner had they gone there than they found that these men were not a whit better than the fellows on the other bank: for their head man told them in plain words that if they wished to be saved from being plundered and dishonoured, they must immediately pay down to him and his followers a handsome sum of money as the price of his protection. Under these difficult and dangerous circumstances they handed him six hundred rupees, upon which he agreed to follow them with his men along the shore down to Calpee, where they were assured they would find protection from the zemindar, who had declared himself the rajah of the district. They were told, besides, that the voyage further up was very dangerous, and that no less than twenty-nine boats, all filled with pilgrims like themselves, had been some days before plundered at Etawah. Accordingly the boats began to ply down, the head man and his men accompanying them along the bank, but what was their surprise when they saw fresh bodies of men appearing on both banks, shouting to them in the most abusive and threatening language to lagow the boats; the head man, however, be it said to his honour, still remained their friend, and but for him they had certainly been lost; for he told the boatmen to disregard their threats,

and use their utmost exertions to carry down the boats till they reached Calpee, while he with his men employed some means to slacken the pursuit of those who were most furious for the prey. This, however, had the most fortunate effect of raising an altercation between the two parties, which enabled the fugitives to reach Calpee without further molestation. One fact ought to be stated here very distinctly, that among the ruffians who had pursued them, setting all law at defiance, there was perhaps not one mutinous soldier, but that they were all villagers and people living along the banks of the river. This proves very clearly, notwithstanding anything that may be stated to the contrary, that whole villages, at least in that part of the north-west, have turned rebellious, and done their best to disorganise the country. These men, it can scarcely be denied, have done their best to overturn the authority of government, and have in most cases cheerfully obeyed the authority of any rebel zemindar who had power or influence enough to proclaim himself rajah. Arriving at last at Calpee, vainly hoping to see the end of their troubles, the fugitives were immediately surrounded by bodies of bravoos, calling themselves the rajah's men, who came ostensibly with the purpose of protecting them, but really to see what they could get. Here they were detained for nearly two months, during which time, though they were not much molested, they had the mortification of being spectators of many an atrocious act, the principal of which was the cold-blooded assassination of an European gentleman and his lady. When the fugitives arrived at Calpee they were still living, but only a few days after their arrival, when it is said a body of mutinous soldiers arrived at the place, those two helpless persons were murdered under circumstances too revolting to allow for description being given. Suffice it to say that, under the heat of a burning sun, both the gentleman and his wife were made to run like horses up and down, till out of mere exhaustion they fell down half dead, when a number of the bloody miscreants backed them to pieces with swords. The bodies were then thrown down the river like the carcass of an animal. It is unnecessary to state that while this is being written the writer is fervently praying to God that the government may soon be enabled to take the most terrible vengeance—a vengeance, the remembrance of which may last for centuries in the villages and hamlets of the north-west. At Calpee, too, the fugitives learnt with what feelings of hatred the people looked upon the English, and the desire prevalent among them of ex-

terminating the whites. One of them who had imprudently said that he could speak English was brought to a serious scrape, out of which he was extricated with no little difficulty. They had with them several English books, which the boys used to read, and English shoes for their use, all of which they threw down in the water. The self-styled Rajah of Calpee, they also learnt, had given orders in the bazaar to sell company's piee, which they call *lad-shahce*, at thirty-two *gundahs* for the rupee, that is to say at half their value, and the old copper coins of the place, which they call *balu-shahce*, at ten *gundahs* for the rupee, a rate which they never had. At Calpee the fugitives were joined by six of the twenty-nine plundered boats already spoken of, which had proceeded as far as Etawah. From the people in them they heard most horrid tales. All the fourteen boats were then allowed to leave on the 1st of August last, not before they had been searched, on the payment of a fine of twelve rupees for each of the first eight boats, and six rupees for each of the other six. As the river had then risen, they descended very swiftly down, without daring to stop anywhere; and, notwithstanding the danger of the navigation in the Junna, the boats were rowed even during the nights. When they arrived at Humeerpore, they saw the hungalows of the Europeans looted and burnt, and the place in a state of complete disorganization. Further down Humeerpore, at a place called Churka Murka, the villagers fired on them from both sides, and even pursued them to some distance on their heavy boats called *kachovah*. It was not, however, before they arrived at Allahabad that they considered themselves out of all danger. The party has recently returned to town, having paid nearly one thousand rupees to different persons, as the price of their protection, as already stated."

The oppressions practised by the talookdars and zemindars upon the ryots, is one of the most striking features of the cruel and grasping dispositions of the Hindoo gentry. Dr. Russell, the Oude correspondent of the *Times*, represents the zemindar system as having preserved Bengal to the dominion of England. Certainly it may have contributed to do so, because the plunder and oppression of the class must perish before the arm of the multitude, were it not that Great Britain upholds it. Feeble as the Bengalee character is, such rapacity and tyranny as the zemindars of Bengal perpetrate, would be resisted were it not for the power of England, which upholds the grievance. It would be impossible to give an adequate description of the hardships

of the ryot class under the zemindar, and middlemen, by whom they are rack rented. The law courts are constantly made, by the tyrants, the instruments of their cruelty. In a single district there were in one year thirty thousand prosecutions of ryots by zemindars. Indeed the "land cases" in the court of Bengal are overwhelmingly numerous. Mr. Capper alleges that eighty per cent. of the produce is wrung from the wretched cultivators, and Mr. Colebrooke says that a man who renders one half his produce in rent or tribute is worse off than a labourer in the same field, who receives only three pice per day. In other parts of India, wherever the zemindar system prevails, un-very powerful checks are placed upon it, similar evils exist, and the native character displays itself in its full proportions of cruelty and avarice. Whenever the law is administered by natives, or native police agents are employed in connection with magisterial functions, the case of the ryot is rendered still more miserable. In Madras torture is a common mode of wringing the last mite from the unfortunated sufferer. The company has, of course, disavowed this practice, and European judges and magistrates, as has been shown on a former page, do all they can to extinguish the practice, but the native magistracy and police are easily made the instruments of the zemindary by bribes, and scene truly "horrible and heart-rending," one of constant occurrence. It is unjust to attribute the fault to the European collectors, as has been done by certain agitators against the company at home. One who knew India well, and has become an authority on Indian history, and the social condition of that country, thus writing of the vast number of tenants under the jurisdiction of a single collector (possibly one hundred and fifty thousand!) observes:—"Not one of whom has a lease, but each pays according as he cultivates, and gets a crop, and with reference to his cattle, sheep, and children, and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural distress and large families there would be in England or any other country under such a system! Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded anything, that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the collector were one of the prophets, and remained in the same district to the age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and a foreigner, and continually changed, it would be strange if the native subordinates did not do as they liked, and having the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally

Bengalees, especially in Lower Bengal, where the people are not martial, but of a peaceable disposition, and desirous of cultivating the arts of tranquil life, it has been popular for some years to teach the girls in a family to read; and of late years permission has been conceded for their instruction in writing. This was slowly given: a superstitious alarm that something very serious might come of it if woman were allowed this mysterious accomplishment seemed to pervade the minds of most classes. In Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban, where the Buddhist religion offers a less obstructive opposition to the instruction of woman, considerable progress is being made in overcoming prejudice and teaching the infant daughters of the people.

However disheartening the oriental prejudice against the education of the rising female generation, there is no reason for despairing of success if government and the voluntary efforts of Christians are persevering and enlightened. It must not be forgotten that even in Europe woman does not hold her true place, nor is she treated in England with justice and equality. No stranger visiting England could fail to observe that woman is allowed more liberty than equality. Sons are generally treated in English families with more consideration and respect; and among the lower classes even with more tenderness. English parents are almost invariably more proud of their sons, even where unmarked by any quality entitling them to the partiality with which they are regarded; and this may be seen, too, where the daughters of the house are cultivated, clever, prudent, and fair, every way superior to their brothers. The law of primogeniture fosters this partiality for the male members of the family, and leads to the inequitable distribution of property between sons and daughters, so characteristic of English family history. Not only among the landed aristocracy, but in London among the commercial, and in the north of England among the manufacturing classes, there is an ambition to place the sons in a superior pecuniary position, and this feeling is carried to an extent not only unjust but sometimes even cruel. If in Europe, except in certain sections of the Celtic and Scandinavian races, there yet remains so strong a disposition to place women in an unduly inferior place in the social scale, it is not matter of either surprise or despondency to those who wish to elevate the women of India, if they find that this old oriental prejudice there but slowly gives way. That it does give way, not only as regards education, but in other particulars, all who have studied Indian history and Indian manners must be aware. The social

degradation of women in India is not so profound now as when the English set foot upon the soil of India. The Portuguese, although effecting no other good, set a better example in this particular than the Indians had previously seen. Even where the Portuguese established their settlements, the exclusion of women from social rights was not so inexorable as it had been ages before. If the people and government of England persevere in their efforts to ensure security for the life, education for the mind, and respect for the social status of woman, a powerful inroad will have been made upon the barbarous usages of oriental social life.

One obstacle to female education in India, is early marriage. Frequently at ten years of age this ceremony takes place. The ancient ceremonies were much more solemn and rational than those now in use, which are simple and almost silly. When the proper moment arrives, after the adjustment of all preliminaries, the bride takes seven paces, in a peculiar form and with certain circumstances of attendant ceremonial; when the seventh pace is made the step is taken for life, the marriage is valid and indissoluble.

The extravagant outlay on marriage occasions has been noticed in chapters devoted to districts and cities, especially in those describing the country and people of Ceylon: in all parts of India inordinate expense attendant upon marriage prevails. The poor incur expenses far beyond their means, and the rich vie with one another in expenditure. As much as one hundred thousand rupees is sometimes lavished upon a marriage festival among the rich. There is a strange display of magnificence and profusion on such occasions. Grand oriental processions gratify the love of pomp innate with the people in those parades of wealth and decoration; elephants hold a prominent place, indeed the grandeur of the bridal party is in some sort estimated by the number of elephants. Dancing forms also a part of the pastime to which the people give themselves up. Nautch girls are hired for the occasion, almost the only one on which native ladies of rank will now give their presence, where the indelicate performances of those unchaste artistes are a part of the entertainment. Mr. Capper, however, intimates that they are commonly attendants upon the parties given by rich natives. In describing their receptions, he says:—"The upper classes of the natives of India are much given to entertainments of dancing and music, to which large numbers of their friends are invited. These take place upon any occasion which may offer a pretext for conviviality or sociability; they, indeed, answer

to the European evening parties. Natives of high birth and rank are proud to have their English acquaintances present on these occasions, and often make great preparations for their reception, especially if, as is sometimes the case, the European should be an official of note. It is at these parties that the 'Nauteh Girls' display the gracefulness, and something more, of their figures, with a studied affectation of ease and grace, which, to a European, carries little beyond repulsion. In some parts of India, especially in the southern states of the peninsula, every temple has a troop of these 'dancing girls,' whose questionable earnings help out the sacred finances of the shrine. Some of them dress with great magnificence, hiring their jewelled robes for the occasion, and which are said occasionally to be worth, with their ornaments, as much as £20,000." Whether or no it be as common as this writer intimates for the "nauteh girls" to dance at private parties where native ladies are present, they are generally appendages to bridal rejoicings.

Illuminations afford great delight to the people, whether heathen or Mohammedan, especially in the neighbourhood of large rivers, where the native pyrotechnic art is always displayed to most perfection. When aided by sylvan and water scenery the effect of these fire-works is often very fine, and to the natives enchanting, their wild delights finding expression in the utmost transports of excitement. On wedding occasions the names of the bride and bridegroom are by curious devices brought out by variegated lamps among the foliage or over the ripple of the waters; and various representations, in which the profane and sacred figure together in grotesque and unseemly association, are intended to decorate the scene. Fiery emblems gleam everywhere, and sudden transitions in those ornamental configurations astonish the people, throwing them into the wildest manifestations of boisterous joy.

The feasting is on a large scale, but the enjoyment appears more in the gorgeous *ensemble* of the feast than in the viands, which are chiefly light in character; delicious fruits, however, abounding, and the invariable rice, cooked and curried in much variety.

The funerals of natives are scenes of much solemnity. In this respect the Hindoos surpass the Chinese, and the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The destruction of the body by fire, the most solemn and sanitary way for its removal, is chosen by the people of India. The body is washed with fragrant lotions, neatly dressed in perfumed apparel, and arrayed with flowers; it is

then borne in procession to the funeral pyre. Sometimes this is performed in solemn silence; at others the keeners utter their plaintive lamentations after the manner of the Celtic tribes, especially as seen in Ireland. Frequently a band of music accompanies the procession, the monotonous beating of the tom-tom, failing to drown the cries of the lamenters, aids the unearthly wail which rises from them. These differences depend upon the race, as much as upon local custom. The scene at the pyre is affecting and solemn, and sometimes the lonely country will be lighted up in the still night as far as the eye can see, with the funeral fires.

When treating of the religions of India, notice was taken of the horrid rite of Suttee, which takes place in connexion with the funeral pyre of a husband. It is here proper to offer a further description, in the language of the author of *British Indian Possessions*. That author presents, in one respect, a view different from what we have met with elsewhere, for he represents the people as often solicitous to dissuade the widow from self-immolation,—almost all writers concurring in declaring the eagerness of the people to urge the woman to her dreadful fate. Elphinstone, however, gives an instance of the kind, and thinks the widow herself always more earnest than her friends for the sacrifice. "Of the first institution of Suttee nothing certain is known; though it is undoubtedly of high antiquity, by being alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, who wrote before the Christian era, and it appears to have been in practice for a long period previously. The belief that the widow is subject to any degradation should she survive her husband's death cannot be correct, seeing that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence for the relatives and friends of the family to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to dissuade the woman from the contemplated act: it is notorious that this is not only attempted, but often successfully; and amongst other expedients employed, is so to occupy the time and attention of the widow, that the body of her deceased husband may be removed and burned before she is aware of the fact. The ceremony of Suttee varies with the local customs of different parts of India, though not perhaps in any essential particulars. In Bengal the widow prepares for the act with many ceremonies, and invariably bathes before mounting the pyre, if possible in the sacred waters of the Ganges. Before firing the funeral altar, the dead and the living are bound together to the pile, so as to preclude the possibility of the latter affecting an escape. In the south of India the women would

Hindoo army. The truth is, your heathen is not only vicious, but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject, and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially oriental vice; it palls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true, especially of those two great departments of vice—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object! This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into another mystery, connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of oriental lust need but be alluded to to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable—we cannot say *super-natural*. Contrast with this tone of heathen vice, of oriental vice, the tone of Christian vice, and there will appear a marked difference. Christian vice is bad enough, but it is not insatiable, it is not infinite, it does not go into the horrible subtleties and refinements of the other. In a word, Christian vice is an indulgence, a gross, a coarse, a sensual indulgence, but it is not a mystery. Even an immoral Christian stays comparatively on the threshold, and does not search the dark interior of vice, and ransack every corner of it."

Except as their interests were served, the native soldiery have been always disloyal and insubordinate, and this mainly arose from their religious associations. They were ever ready to be led away by some Brahmin priest, or mad fakier. The late Major Edward Willoughby, quartermaster-general of the Bombay army, describes the sepoys of that army in terms which confirm these statements. The major affirms that the natives were more

easily governed than British soldiers, which is true so far as petty vices are concerned, where the superior energy, and customary freedom of the British soldier exposes him to peculiar temptations, but the English soldier is essentially loyal, and where a principle is concerned, he is a model of subordination. He is unruly where the native is pliant, he is obedient, subordinate, and loyal, with a high sense of soldierly honour where the native is ready to follow the beck of every adventurer and conspirator. Major Willoughby's remarks were made in reference to Lord William Bentinck's order against flogging in the native army, and his words are, with this understanding of the particular expression pointed out, forcibly correct:—"The men composing the native army are, generally speaking, easily governed, more so than our own countrymen. Amongst Europeans, individual acts of misconduct, and even insubordination, are not uncommon, but they are easily dealt with, and there is no fear of its extending beyond the ranks of its own company or regiment; but the native army is composed of such different material that much is at all times to be feared on this score. A few designing men may get into the ranks of a regiment, perhaps for the purpose of causing some disaffection (I have known it to be the case for the purpose of plunder), and so far succeed in exciting men's minds against their officers and government, on some imaginary grievance, regarding their caste and popular prejudices, of which they will allow these rascals to be the judges (for no bodies of men ever take the trouble to think for themselves), that if it is not checked with a firm hand at the outset, may end even in the downfall of our authority in India. All the serious affairs that have taken place amongst the native troops, have commenced something in this way; but a firm and judicious commanding officer can, generally speaking, check a thing of this kind, if he is armed with the requisite power. He orders a drum-head court martial, by the sentence of which the ringleaders are made an instant example of, the discontent kept down, and the whole affair settled without calling in further assistance, before it assumes a serious aspect, or becomes generally known. And who will tell me that this is not a merciful act, both to the sufferer, as well as to the body of misguided men, who would in all probability, if trifled with under such circumstances, be led on to any degree of crime, without knowing what they were doing? But now, in such a case, with Lord William Bentinck's order in the mouth of every drummer boy, what is a commanding officer to do if it is reported to him that his

regiment is guilty of some act of insubordination? He repairs to the parade, stands in front of a thousand men bearing arms; the instigators are pointed out to him, and what is he to do to enforce his own or the orders of government? Surely he cannot make such a burlesque of it as to order them to be put on *congee* for a month, nor by directing their discharge, for it is well known to every officer who has served with a native regiment that the first thing a man asks for, when excited by any annoyance, is his discharge; in short, I have heard a whole regiment call out on parade, 'Give us our discharge,' 'We want our discharge.' But we have assumed that these men have enlisted for a particular purpose, and having been detected in their villany, the greatest favour you can bestow upon them is to give them their liberty again. To comply, therefore, with the wishes of men under such circumstances, without first disgracing them by flogging, is clearly no punishment or example to others; and commanding officers now will have no power left in their hands by which they can strike awe into the ranks of a body of men, perhaps bordering on mutiny. What, therefore, is to become of a regiment in such a situation? They see their commanding officer's hands tied, are encouraged by it, and so the thing goes on, until it assumes such an alarming feature, that higher authority is called in, capital punishment is resorted to, and ten or a dozen men lose their lives; lucky indeed if it stops here: and this is what Lord William Bentinck boasts of at Glasgow, as being his great philanthropic act, in giving up the government of India. This subject, depend upon it, ought not to be lightly thought of by the authorities in this country if they value the safety of our Eastern dominions, and it is one of serious concern to officers now rising to the command of regiments. Some expedient ought therefore to be hit upon, and that soon, to annul this fearful order. At present the army is composed of veteran troops, and they are fortunately in that state of discipline that things may go on quietly enough for a time, but when we begin to recruit again, and our ranks are filled with men who have never been taught to fear the rod, we shall then find to our cost that they will be like loose horses, not quite so easily managed, even in the common duties required of them, as they were with the curbs. This, I fear, will be particularly felt in the field, in preventing plunder and other crimes, of which soldiers are too often guilty in marching through a country, and which requires a strong arm of the law to check, even amongst the best disciplined troops."

The discipline of the native army un-

doubtedly requires some peculiar mode of punishment if flogging and placing in irons, which they alone appear to dread, are to be given up. The Duke of Wellington pointed out long ago the uselessness of capital punishments for either sepoys or people as a punishment for rebellious conduct to which religion or caste stimulated. The victim would glory in his death as martyrdom, and all his friends and the people revere his memory as a witness for his religion or caste. Whereas, loading them with chains, or inflicting stripes, degrades them in their own esteem, and that of their fellow revolvers, whether civil or military, and is consequently an effectual and deterring punishment. Major E. Willoughby, already quoted, bore testimony to the effect of flogging in the following language:—"The great argument against this mode of punishment is, that it deters the higher class of natives from joining the ranks. The respectable natives inclined to enlist well understand that the lash is not intended for them while they behave themselves properly; but admitting that our ranks are filled with the very description of men we appear so anxious to obtain, then, perhaps, I must differ with most people in saying, that the argument that would apply to the European character on this head would not hold good with the natives of India, for I am satisfied the more intelligent and respectable your men are, as to family connexions, the greater the danger of disaffection, and consequently the greater the cause for keeping the means best adapted to check it. I think I am borne out in this assertion from the experience the Golundanze battalion has afforded us. These men are all of high caste and character, and are paid better than the rest of the foot-soldiers. They are a fine body of men, and do credit to the officers of artillery, but I believe I am not far wrong in saying that they have given more trouble, and a greater number of court-martial have taken place in that corps, since it has been raised, than in any six regiments of the line during the same period. Before I conclude I must avow my great abhorrence to corporeal punishment, when it can possibly be avoided; and, in my opinion, it is seldom, if ever, requisite in a well-regulated native regiment, if the commanding officer has the power to exercise it when it does become necessary; but take that power from him, and you will find the hitherto quietly-disposed native soldier, particularly your high caste men, much more prone to mischief than they were under the old system."

The opinion of Sir Charles Napier was in accordance with that of Major Edward Willoughby. The words of the conqueror of

Indian practice, or civilians who have received a thoroughly legal education, adequately trained in the principles of jurisprudence." At present there is little prospect of the ideas of this enlightened writer being carried out, but it is possible that in the general sifting to which all Indian affairs are being subjected by the awakened energy of parliament and the British public, that this also may be made the subject of investigation and reform.

The general tone of the members of the civil service in all departments enters largely into the social character of India. Formerly there was great neglect of religious observances by these classes. Travellers at the beginning of this century, and during the first twenty or thirty years of it, give relations on this head painful to Christians and Englishmen to peruse. One writer represents the celebration of religious worship according to the service of the Church of England as only occurring occasionally when a clergyman visited the garrison. Other writers represent divine service as being held monthly only, or even less frequently, in other garrisons and populous places, where there was *comparatively* a numerous English population. This is not now the case. A very great revival of interest in religious things has taken place; and in all cantonments and cities where Europeans congregate there are either regular chaplains paid by the government, and sometimes several chaplains of different sects, or the missionaries of voluntary religious societies, and of the Established Church, minister statedly among Europeans, as well as among the natives, to whom they are more especially commissioned from England; indeed, the benefit conferred by the English missionary societies to the social condition of Europeans in India has been unspeakable. If the missionary societies had effected no other good than the improvement which they have produced in European society, all the sums expended would have been well laid out; for while whole villages have been drawn to listen to the tidings of the gospel, and even in the vicinity of the idol temples the salvation of Christ has been proclaimed, large numbers of sceptical or indifferent Europeans have been converted to God. The licentious have been rebuked, and awed into decorum; and many in England have reason to rejoice that the wild youth who had left home, addicted to dissipation, beyond the advice of parents and the remonstrances of friends, had by the genial persuasion and holy example of some good missionary been brought to know himself and his God, and in a right frame of mind to regard

the duties, ties, and responsibilities of life. The well authenticated instances of this kind are so numerous, that any person who will choose to examine the matter for his own satisfaction, will be utterly astonished to find how such cases will multiply before his inquiries. A work recording such cases might be written, which would furnish to the public not only a large amount of information affecting the particular inquiry, but throwing much light upon the wonderful providence and goodness of God in individual history, and bringing out many traits of social life in India with which neither the church nor the world in England is familiar. The missionary societies have also rendered the government good service in a way which does not appear to be appreciated. But for them the government would have felt itself obliged to provide at the public expense a far larger staff of clergymen of the Established Church. This would have provoked bitter controversy at home, as the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics would have also demanded an extension of the support afforded to them, while the voluntary churches would have raised an agitation against the extension of the principle of religious establishments to India, and very large classes of persons, careless of any religious system, would have pointed out the injustice to the natives of India of supporting English sects out of revenues contributed by natives. In India the bitter prejudice already excited among the Hindoos and Mohammedans by endowing Christian sects out of the public revenue would have been increased, and have furnished still wider scope for the ingenious critiques of the native newspapers, and the appeals to native prejudice and bigotry in which that portion of the press of India indulges. The voluntary labours of the missionaries have thus rendered indirectly immense service to the government and the peace of India. Bearing upon this subject, and adding to the information given in the chapter devoted to the religions of India, the most recent returns of the number of clergymen paid by government in each presidency, and of each persuasion, may be here appropriately given. From the latest returns there appear to have been employed in Bengal one bishop, with a salary of £4508, and £725 for visitation allowances; 1120 cathedral establishments; sixty-eight chaplains (Church of England), with salaries of £51,031, and allowances of £1510 (in all); two Scottish Kirk chaplains, with salaries of £2310; and two "uncovenanted" ministers, with salaries of £510 (together); £2725 was the sum allowed to Romanist priests, but of these the number is not specified in the return before us. In

the Madras presidency (1855-6) there was a bishop, with £2560 salary; 1010 cathedral establishments; thirty-five (church) chaplains, with salaries of £15,056; and two "kirk" or Presbyterian ministers, with salaries of £18,936. The allowances to Romanist priests were £2580. In the Bombay presidency there was one prelate, with £2560 salary; 1335 cathedral establishments; twenty-six Church of England chaplains, with salaries of £18,936; and two "kirk" chaplains, with stipends of £2016 (together). The allowances to Romanist priests amounted to the sum of £3147.

The life of a civilian in India is neither favourable to the development of social virtues, nor conducive to social happiness. In an article on the Indian civil service in *Blackwood*, April, 1856, there is a most minute and graphic account of the progress of a civil officer in the Madras presidency, and the writer affirms that there is no essential difference in the sister presidencies. When appointed as an assistant to a collector and a magistrate in the provinces, the duties allotted to him are inferior and monotonous, neither calculated to improve the intellect nor the heart. He learns the external forms of magisterial business, and is recommended to become well acquainted with the various tribes and sects in the districts, so far as may concern the business which a collector has with them. These engagements are pursued in a mere routine, and admit of no variety, engrossing the time and the attention of the aspirant to civil honours, so as to leave him no leisure for study. He is, however, expected to study two native languages, and for this purpose he possesses good opportunities, being brought into constant contact with the natives. He cannot very well neglect this duty, as his promotion depends in no small measure upon its accomplishment, as a very strict examination is necessary before his advancement in the service another step can take place. After a year spent in such a manner, the assistant is initiated into the duties of fiscal administration. A *talook*, or small division of the district, under a *tahsildar*, or native collector, is assigned to him, in which, aided by a native *juwabneves*, or secretary, and under the immediate supervision of the collector, he transacts the general matter of course duties of collector. He is employed in measuring salt; superintending the *tappal runners*, or mail carriers, checking the issue of postage or other stamps, and such like duties as, though requiring no mental exercise, need only integrity and honesty. After six or seven years the civilian thus disciplined is nominated head assistant. He is then sent

to reside at some distance from head-quarters, in charge of a talook, or it may be of several talooks—"the business of which, if he do it thoroughly, occupies him from morning till night, allowing but very short intervals for meals and exercise, or for a hasty glance at the *Home News*, the *Illustrated News*, or *Punch*, and perhaps occasionally a 'review.' In this position, unless he be married, he rarely sees a white face, or hears the sound of his native language; and he hails with delight the advent of the subaltern and his small detachment marching to the periodical relief of some lonely outpost. The scraggy sheep is slaughtered; the tough fowl curried; the loaf of bread, *received by post*, is displayed as a treat; the beer, brandy, and cigars, represent the fabled luxuries of the East; a half-holiday is taken in celebration of the event; and the hour of parting brings with it somewhat of that melancholy feeling which is experienced by voyagers who, meeting for a moment on the wide ocean, exchange their friendly greetings, pass on, and are again alone in the world. Our civilian, however, has little time for sentimental reflections; while on what may be appropriately termed the 'Cutcherry' tread-mill, some half dozen questions constantly recurring, under slight modifications, occupy his attention—we can scarcely say his mind—*e. g.* Is Ramasamy entitled to any, and what, remission on account of a deficient supply of water for his rice-field? May the inhabitants of one village draw water from a particular source? or have those of another a prescriptive right to erect a dam, which will wholly or partially preclude their so doing? Is the extent of land in Mootoo's *puttah*, or lease, rightly stated? or, as insisted by his enemy Ramun, has he and the 'Kurnum' colluded to defraud the government by understating it? &c." The picture given in this sketch affords little hope of the civilian acquiring refinement of taste, or that strength of mind which the action of educated intellects on one another is calculated to promote. After six or seven years thus spent he becomes subordinate collector, or subordinate judge. As he advances to the office of collector or judge his position is in every way improved, and his opportunities of European society greatly advanced. If he be made a member of council, secretary of government, or accountant-general, not only are his emoluments increased, and his status elevated, but his social opportunities of refinement and comfort are much extended. He is sure to reside where intercourse with Europeans of a superior order may be constantly enjoyed. Sometimes, but not often, the civil servant is appointed to a diplomatic post at a native court.

pened to be his fellow passengers. Certainly Indian and American annexations have no parallel: the latter are the result of filibustering; the former grow out of wars, in which the natives have generally been the aggressors, or had adopted a policy so dangerous to the British possessions as to leave the English no other course. The ryotwar was evidently a matter of which the American correspondent had no knowledge, and of which he was unfit to offer any opinion. As a shrewd and clever business man, and man of the world, his views of the social habits of the civil servants of the company are worthy of attention, and especially as those habits present themselves to an American traveller. The social life of the English in India has its good points, but it is for the study of those which are not to be admired that we must repair to the letters of the American correspondent. It is well, however, to present such views to the reader, that English social life in India may be seen in every aspect which it presents to friends or foes, foreigners or Englishmen.

The commercial character of the trading community, native and foreign, has, under the head of commerce, been described, and, in some respects, their social character was of necessity included in that description. The common impression in England is, that the Calcutta merchants, having lived in princely splendour, have surrounded themselves with all the creations of taste, and made Calcutta the city of palaces, which in some respects it deserves to be called, however exaggerated its claims. That her merchant princes have not improved Calcutta, so far as architectural beauty or symmetry of streets is concerned, in the proportion in which they have increased its commerce and population, the writer last quoted takes some pains to prove. The same writer gives the following description of commercial life in Calcutta:—

“Notwithstanding the troops of native shopkeepers and tradesmen always hovering about you, there are plenty of Europeans ready to take your money. English tailors, English barbers, English hatters, and English jewellers, English hotel-keepers, and English druggists, all exercise their ingenuity in properly representing their respective callings. The exchange mart, as they term it, contains a little of everything—a perfect *salmagundi*. You can purchase anything you please—an India rubber coat or a penny whistle, a lady’s work-box or a gentleman’s dressing-case—and the prices are moderate. I bought several beautiful silver ornaments made by the artizans of Cuttack—bracelets, bouquet-holders, breast-pins, and sundry nick-nacks, many of which were of exquisite workmanship. Just-at the

present time the exchange is being cleared preparatory to the opium sale, which comes off the 11th of every month, a sight I am sorry I shall not witness, for it is one of the noted exhibitions of Calcutta. The opium from Benares and Patna is sold here at public auction by the honourable company, through a salaried auctioneer, twelve times during the year, to the highest bidder. Catalogues are early circulated, and the purchasers from the country are early in town. As a chest of Patna passes like a bank-note, no sampling or examination takes place. Looking from an elevation in the room, you see a most extraordinary spectacle: all nations—all European races are represented. In the Stock Exchange and the Bourse you may see the latter, but at the opium sales-room only can you see the grand mixture of races.

“Gambling is a natural vice among the Indians, and they enjoy beyond anything else the peculiar excitement of the opium mart; and it is the motley appearance of the bidders, combined with the confusion of tongues, and the strong odours that arise from the perspiring crowd, that marks the place. Jews and Gentiles are wild in their manner; and Greeks, Armenians, Persians, mingled in with native Indians of many dialects; and Englishmen, and all the representatives of the continent of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, are wrought up to the greatest possible excitement by the sharp bidding and the quick auctioneer, who seems to be ubiquitous. The hells of London and of Paris are not thronged with more reckless men, for the amounts are heavy, and one bid will make or lose a fortune. Much of the gambling takes place in the bazaar before the sale.

“The river is covered with merchandize, which the primitive teams of the land, unchanged for centuries, bring down from the interior, while the finest ships in the world open their hatches to receive the produce of a land that is capable of producing as much of its renowned staples as the rest of the world is capable of consuming. And yet, with all this wonderful commerce, who grows rich in the Indian trade? How many merchants annually retire with lacs of rupees? As many as make their fortunes in the respective gold-fields of the great Anglo-Saxon empires, after they have passed through a panic, no more; for competition crowds the new-comer, and every ten years the old merchants tremble under an established custom, if not a natural law.”

This writer, in common with all strangers who visit Calcutta, was struck with the increasing importance of the Hindoo, Parsee, and Greek merchants. Of late several Greeks of Constantinople, and others who had “houses”

in Western Europe, have settled in Calcutta, and they import not only the habits of business by which their race is characterized, but also its good and evil social peculiarities. The natives, however expert in the tricks of commerce, and however gifted in the foresight which is essential where trade assumes the risks of the gambling table, and the cunning and unprincipled have the best chances of success, are rivalled by the Greeks. The habits of the native merchants of Bombay were noticed when the capital of that presidency was described. The life of the native merchants of Calcutta has been thus described by a traveller who was not unfriendly to them:—"The native merchants are men of intellect, well up in all the moves on the mercantile chess-board. You are surprised to find them so familiar with commerce and commercial usages. Naturally sharp and quick to learn, by being brought, after graduating in the English school, in contact with business men from every coast, they become familiar with all the tricks of trade. If they wish to purchase, they appear before you as sellers; if they have indigo to dispose of, they will inquire for seeds; and if freight is to be engaged, they will offer you a ship. Intuitively they understand all the clap-trap of the Stock Exchange; with astonishing cleverness they put the market up and down with as much ease as the most experienced bulls and bears of the West; and before or after the arrival of a mail you meet them where you least expect it—always a little in advance. No Europeans were equal to cope with them in managing prices, in regulating prices, or in dodging round sharp corners, till the Greeks dropped down among them; but since so many of them have appeared in Calcutta, the natives have had to keep their eyes wide open."

The social habits of every native class has been described in previous pages, except those of the merchants of the Indian metropolis; and as this is a class which has grown up under British and foreign influence, a notice of its habits of domesticity and intercourse in private society was reserved until the social habits and character of the Indo-European commercial class should come under review. It has not been easy to obtain much knowledge of the mode in which the banyans and native merchants of Calcutta spend their time, when away from general observation. The following account by a gentleman who enjoyed the hospitality of some of them is therefore the more interesting:—

"I visited the residence of the Dutt family, where all the opulence and luxuries that wealth commands are scattered about the rooms. Paintings and engravings, mosaic

from Rome and porcelain from Sèvres, English and French furniture, and everything Indian and European that they can get hold of, is purchased to adorn their residences. The large rooms of valuable merchandize resembled more an ill-assorted pawnbroker's shop in London than anything else I could think of. I found the Baboo almost naked, in his bedroom, on the floor, a punkah over him, and in his hand an English history of the Russian war. The room was beautifully furnished, but the pictures that adorned the walls showed the licentious taste of the Bengalee. He was most familiar with the geography, the commerce, the politics of other nations; wanted to know the effect of the late wonderful production of gold, and how it would operate on the silver coinage; asked if the losses still continued as heavy in the Australian trade as at first, and if our cotton crop in the States would exceed three millions of bales, and if in case of peace clipper-ships would depreciate. His religion, he said, would not allow him to go abroad, but nothing would be more pleasant to him than to visit Mount Vernon. Ashootas Day had a beautiful place, and before his death gave a most expensive nautch, combining the immoralities of the European with the luxuriant and voluptuous habits of the natives. He denied himself nothing that money would give him. The careless way of speaking of him, 'that he had been burnt up' makes one still more repugnant to their idol worship. I was also entertained by Baboo Rajendur Mullick, whose princely estates and great wealth are noticeable above many others'. Dutt's place is far less expensive, for Baboo Mullick lives the gentleman, and devotes his time to ornamenting his house, by purchasing everything that comes from other parts. The more costly the article, the better is he pleased. Animals and birds filled the garden, and his aviary contained the feathered tribes of every land, from the ostrich to the emu—the mandarin duck of China to the bird of paradise. The late Earl of Derby contributed something to the collection. I saw several goats from Cashmere, the kind from whose wool the celebrated shawls are made. The goats thrive poorly out of the mountains, and there were only five left out of some two hundred that the Baboo owned. The Baboo is most gentlemanly in his manners, and well informed in ancient and modern history, speaking English with remarkable fluency. He had several lacs invested in the company's paper. A few weeks since he gave a most magnificent nautch. The large area in the centre was covered, and lights and lanterns shone over the expensive fountain and the orna-

Hindoo villages, almost every cultivator is a joint sharer in the land (a zemindar), being a descendant from a common ancestor. Supposing, even, the government in India really possessed the right of destroying the hereditary landed tenures of a large province, it would be, politically speaking, a great mistake to attempt to exercise it, as it could never be enforced, unless you could put to death every zemindar in Oude, *i.e.*, almost every man in arms in that province, and a vast number more not in arms, but who would, no doubt, instantly join their brethren if they found their hereditary rights seized. England, in fact, could not send out troops enough to carry out such an order. Little did the British think, who met the gay cavaliers of Oude on the esplanade of Calcutta, after the petitions of these men were spurned and themselves contemned, that the treatment under which their vengeance was formed and fostered would so soon try the energy of our empire, and consign so many of our fairest and bravest to bloody graves.

The extreme contempt for the natives which characterizes the English in India, which is perhaps nowhere cherished more than in Calcutta, not only at government-house, but among the independent settlers, and which makes itself so felt of an evening on the esplanade, has not only incited Indian chiefs to rebellion, but has sustained the English in their most daring efforts to quell revolt and carry their conquests all over the peninsula. Alluding to this result of the feeling, and to its probable and possible consequences as indicated by the revolt of 1857-8, the *Friend of India* has the following remarks, written after the fall of Lucknow:—"We are beginning to learn the strength of our foe. We hear now no more stories of want of gunpowder and ammunition, of muskets either turned into fuses or bartered for a little food, of rebels dying by hundreds, and disunion breaking out in their camp. We no longer expect impossibilities, to conquer a host with some ten men, or to defend a town with a garrison weakly provisioned and hampered with women and children. Yet the old proud contempt for all races but our own still continues; at one time a source of weakness, at another of the most heroic action. At first it left Delhi without troops, and the capital unguarded, the king of Oude or his ministers to plot sedition, and native regiments to burn down bungalows. When the rebellion had broken out it caused General Havelock, with a force scarcely three thousand strong, to advance gallantly into Lucknow and save the garrison, and Colonel Powell with five hundred men to drive five thousand rebels from an in-

trenched position; it enabled General Neill to save Benares, and contributed not a little to the series of victories won by General Havelock. If knowledge be power, ignorance sometimes is not less so, and the man who knows not when it is impossible for him to gain a victory seldom sustains a defeat. This contempt for our foe has had as great an influence upon individuals as upon masses. What else enabled Lieutenant Willoughby and his gallant companions to make a stand at Delhi; what enabled Lieutenant Osborne to maintain his post at Rewah, and Lieutenant Hungerford at Mhow; what else encouraged Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab to denude the province of European troops and send them to Delhi? The emotion is now, however, passing away; it has served its purpose, and the man who thought it before cowardly to shrink from a dishonourable foe now takes the precautions which can alone secure a thorough vengeance. The commander-in-chief, therefore, rightly delayed his advance on Lucknow until his success was certain."

On the esplanade at Calcutta the English, and superior classes of natives, meet every evening, but while they pass and repass one another, the native merchants, it may be with more costly equipages, and the native chiefs on finer horses, more richly caparisoned, and themselves gorgeously apparelled, this display of native wealth and jewelled grandeur seldom tempts the English from their cold and haughty reserve, and the smallest conceivable intercourse takes place between the two races. Mr. Train, who wrote from an American point of view, and for American readers, like Bayard Taylor, and other Americans who travelled in India, thus describes the esplanade, and the gay concourse which occupies it:—"The esplanade, thus far, more than all else in the Bengal capital, has left the most lasting impression on my mind when the sun shuts off his burning brightness, when the Indian day has departed, and the Indian evening is born. About the hour of five o'clock the stranger is introduced to a scene of gaiety and gladness, a picture of oriental and Anglo-Saxon life that it would be difficult to cross from off the memory's tablet. I am no enthusiast, nor can I paint; my youth has been buried among the dry leaves of commerce—the cobweb realities of the counting-house—the invoice, the ledger, and the ship—and now, on the restless drifting of never-ceasing change, I am purchasing dearly enough, by absence from my family, my first draught of oriental custom and Indian habits. The evening drive, however, as delightful as it is strange, would make me forget my companion account, were not the familiar names

of clipper-ships always before me as they range along the anchorage. All there is of European and Western life in Calcutta is reflected every evening on the course, and as I lie off so lazily in my barouche I can but contemplate the scene so singularly beautiful. Isaac Marvel should have driven on the course after he had been brooding over his sea-coal fire. There is the holy river coursing far up above the city—far away beyond the suburbs; past the hunting-fields of the fierce Mahrattas, winding its many coils through the palace-gardens on its sacred banks; past the umbrageous banyan, the palm, the sycamore, and cocoa-trees; past heathen temples, rusting under the corroding influence of climate and of time; and, as it loses itself in the distance far beyond Barrackpore, your imagination traces it beyond your visual reach, wending its tortuous way through the vast possessions of the honourable company, and the paddy-fields, that give so many millions nourishment; past the wheat, and the corn, and the indigo plantations; near where the poppy blossoms bloom under government, to raise a few more laes to pay the army; past the zemindars, whose tyrant power grinds the life from the poor ryot; past the Saracenic ruins of Hindoo temples, interesting, because so grey with age; by the sepoy camp, where English officers are the lords of native regiments; until we finally lose it among the valleys that base the mountain ranges of the towering Himalayas. Lost as you may be in reverie, your fancy is arrested by the soul-stirring music of the regimental bands, in the garden inclosure, where nurses and children most do congregate, and where, in the little harbour, you may find an American apple or an American ice. The thrill of martial airs ringing through the trees, and the voluptuous breeze of the Indian evening fanning off the burthensome cares of day, would put you asleep in your easy-moving carriage were your senses not kept always active by the passing and repassing of 'fair women and brave men.' All that is attractive in Calcutta may be seen at the daily reunion of the drive. The scene is most unlike anything I ever witnessed. The Praya Grande of Macao faces the water, and so does the grassplot at Singapore, the Bund at Shanghai, the Botanical Gardens at Sydney, the governor's road to his new residence on the banks of the Derwent, in Tasmania, but not as the esplanade looks upon the Hoogly, for here you combine so many attractions. Some seventy American banners have been streaming during the day from the beautiful clippers of my own fair land; and the flags of England, and of France, and Continental States, have been furled for

the night, again to open their gandy colours in the morning. The ships of all nations are crowding one another in long rows, three and four abreast, for miles along the pleasure ground, some deeply laden, and waiting impatiently to commence their voyage, and be towed to sea; others have just arrived, and in ballast trim."

Mr. Train, having visited Fort William, and given some inaccurate descriptions of it in a military sense, affords a glimpse, which is faithful and well described, of the people who frequent the esplanade, in the singular throng of their varied nationalities:—"On returning through one of the military roads, I found the esplanade crowded with elegant equipages; and evening after evening I was borne along the drive, watching the interesting spectacle—now walking in long rows, and now hurrying on in delightful confusion, carriage behind carriage, their occupants dressed as for a ball. You saw all that was gay in the capital; and many are the romantic stories of love and of gossip which are told you if your companion be a lady, and of thrilling and hairbreadth escapes if of the other sex. Where a community have held an evening levee at the same hour, and at the same place, day after day, Sundays not excepted, for generations, in an Indian country, there must be many incidents on record of the romance and misery of Indian life. Some of the equipages would not fail to be noticed in Hyde Park; and many of the Arab horses on the green would attract attention in Rotten Row.* The distinguished potentates of the company spare no expense in endeavouring to eclipse their neighbours; and salaries, surprising to the officials of other lands, are squandered as quickly as they are received. The governor-general's carriage is lost sight of the moment some of the native princes make their appearance, and the commander-in-chief of the army, the members of the council, who receive forty thousand dollars per annum, and other high-salaried officers of the civil service, are not able to cope with the luxuriant extravagance of baboos, who count their wealth by lacs of pounds. Count d'Orsay, as he is dubbed, because he was horsewhipped for twice throwing a bouquet into a lady's carriage, seems to be the native Beau Brummel of the course in everything but wealth, for his estates are princely. There must be white blood in his veins, for his complexion is fair, and his features are noticeable for their regularity. The

* Mr. Train seems to be under the impression that the fashionables of London ride their best horses in Rotten Row. This is an error; the average value of a horse there during the gayest time of the London season has been computed at £60.

produce exterior differences, the essential characteristics of all are the same.*

It has been said in reply to language of this kind, that, in the region of politics at all events, the English, and the native party attached to them, might move together; that wherever the Englishman goes he is a politician, and wherever he rules he is essentially so; that the natives are also keen politicians, and therefore those of the British party would necessarily be brought into a juxtaposition with the English, affording the latter opportunity for cultivating native society among the men under the most favourable auspices. It is not known to those who thus reason that the masses of the people have no politics, although sometimes they appear to act from political motives, when they are only moved by their interest in their land as cultivators, or their interest in their religion as fanatics. The chiefs and their ministers in the independent provinces, or the deposed rajahs who hope to be restored to their dominions, are of course politicians so far as their regal interests are concerned, but the masses have no nationhood, no political theories or principles, and no aims, such as we call political. Socially they are one people in spite of every diversity of class, creed, colour, and custom existing among them; politically there is no cohesion—they are as the sand scattered before the storm.

The people of India have no political feeling in common; no two tribes, classes, or castes of Hindoos pull together in politics. This, which, in the first instance, is no doubt in a great degree the consequence of political slavery, is now still more the cause of it. Natives of different classes associate much together, have their alliances and enmities in common; but employ one of them in the service of government, and he has no particle of political sympathy beyond his own subdivision of a class, if even so much. Political nationality there is none. Even in matters of public concern between the people and the government, there is little public spirit. They have so long lived under an alien and despotic government, that they feel little bound to assist it; so that if, in the pursuit of criminals and such matters, a native is immediately touched himself, he is active enough—but so long as this is not the case, he moves not in the matter, and renders little assistance.† Under such circumstances the English in India and the natives must continue politically and socially separate, however related by mutual interests.

* Campbell's *Modern India and its Government*, pp. 36, 37.

† *Ibid.* pp. 62, 63.

There is, however, one part of India which seems to be an exception to the want of nationality, and that sense of political importance which a strong nationality creates—Oude. The people of Oude, believing themselves descended from the ancient Israelites, and inhabiting the very centre and seat of that ancient empire, are passionately attached to their country. Notwithstanding all the robbery and violence of the late king, the people preferred the independence of their country, remaining exposed to the most crushing oppression and devastating plunder, to the government of England under the auspices of peace, security, and an equitable taxation. Bishop Heber relates how a British officer, riding at the head of a party through Oude, conversed with those near him as to the frightful state of anarchy around them: he asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government? Whereupon the jemindar in command of the escort, joining his hands, remarked with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!"—"Why so?" said the officer; "are not our people far better governed?"—"Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our country would be at an end." The jemindar was a Mohammedan, and the bishop adds, "Perhaps a Hindoo ryot would have given a different reply." * Events have since proved the reverend traveller to have been wrong, for the Hindoo ryot joined the Mohammedan talookdar and zemindar in a sanguinary struggle for independence. With this exception of Oude, no national feeling would rouse the Indians to arms. Even when the Sikhs made so grand a struggle, it was more for the ascendancy of the Khalsa faith than for the glory of the Punjab.

Having shown the absence of all social or political sympathy between the two races, British and native, and the unlikelihood of their coming into closer communion unless great changes be wrought in the principles and tastes of both, it will not surprise the reader to learn that the disdain which marks the general bearing of Europeans to the natives, pervades even the high places of government. Distinguished princes attend the assemblies and levees at government-house, but they are made to feel, and sometimes with keen humiliation, that they are subjugated and tributary.

A glimpse of Calcutta society in its highest phases will interest the reader. This shall be given in the words of a foreigner, who, invited to an entertainment at government-house on the arrival of Lord and Lady Can-

* Heber's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 90.

ning, with more frankness than good taste, has related his observations:—"The several entrances through the gateways to the palace had a most imposing appearance, both sides of the well-made road being lined with lamps of cocoa-nut oil, blazing from every post in the grounds, a sight as novel to me as the Chinese lanterns which so tastefully illuminate the gardens of the Shanghai merchants when they wish to exhibit more than usual magnificence. At the main doorway there were some two hundred servants squatting in rows in the large entrance hall, dressed in more than all the colours of the dolphin and rainbow—whether private servants, or those belonging to the house I did not learn, but could not but notice their peculiar sitting posture, like so many pelicans on a beach. Walking through the lower hall, passing at every turn the sepoy guard, we were shown up a long staircase, and ushered into the reception room. I passed through the outer hall to see the dancers, whose numbers fairly crowded one of the largest halls I ever witnessed. Before joining in the dance I wished to have the 'lions' of the evening pointed out, and I was particularly fortunate in having for a companion the accomplished Miss —, whose name I find against No. 11 for a polka. Lord Canning, in a stiff black state dress, stood at the head of the room, in front of the chair of state—a native officer standing on either side—with what I supposed was the mace of office. The new governor seemed fairly lost amid the blaze of chandeliers, whose dazzling brightness reflected from the prismatic glass made my eyes ache so much that I lost half the enjoyment of the evening. Lady Susan Ramsay, the daughter of Lord Dalhousie, was on the right, leading off, with all the gaiety of youth, the first quadrille—her partner some gallant officer of the Indian army, who wore upon his breast the medals of many battles. The daughter of the commander-in-chief was in the same set, and received particular attention from the elegant aide-de-camp by her side. Lady Canning did not dance while I was present, but reclining upon the regal chair, received court from her honoured lord and the several distinguished civilians and military officers present. The formality of her reception was freezing. Her dress was of white tulle over a white satin skirt, looped up with red roses, with a head-dress of red velvet and pearls—not, in my opinion, elegant; but the blaze of diamonds compensated for what was wanting in taste. She still possesses the marks of early beauty, but time and the dissipations of her exalted position in London have diminished her attractions. I found more amusement in promenading through

the wide passage ways, and in noticing the cliquesish movements of the guests, than in dancing. In the outer room, Lord Dalhousie was receiving his friends, but seldom rose from the couch without showing that too much exertion gave him pain, for physically, his constitution is shattered by hereditary and other insinuating diseases; but his mind strengthens with the weakness of the body. Administrative ability and decision of character are stamped upon his countenance, and judging from his features he must be capable of bearing great mental labour. Poor man, what is all his greatness, with ineradicable ill-health always staring him in the face! Notwithstanding the exertion of the punkahs, the rooms were oppressively warm, and the dancers found more colour in their usually pale cheeks than they had noticed for many a day; but as a general rule their complexion was not improved by the addition. The music of the well-organized bands at the extreme end of the dancing-saloon was most exhilarating, and served to give the only animation the formality of the ball allowed. Later I saw a significant movement of the great leaders towards the stairs, all pairing off with punctilious ceremony, and following on I found myself in the supper-room, a room even larger than the saloon, the tables arranged after the shape of three-fourths of a square, with a long one in the entrance aisle adjoining, and seats and plates for at least fifteen hundred guests; and yet there were many who remained without a place, myself among the rest, for I was too busy noticing the movements of those around me. Everything that money can purchase in the East helped to ornament the banquet and administer to the palate; at other times the most conspicuous dish of an Indian table is curry, in as many forms as there are castes in Bengal, but that dish is never seen upon the supper-table. The banquet-hall was too large to be adorned, and the guests too numerous to enjoy themselves, and the supper passed off with only the motions of the eaters and the rattling of the plates and knives. As silently as they entered they left the table, and again the dancers were on the floor; but I was not among them, for I found peculiar interest in watching the motions of the state prisoners, and distinguished natives, who, dressed in the picturesque costume of their country, had been invited to partake in the festivities of those who had brought them to their present humiliating position. Kings, princes, and rajahs, or their descendants, were there bowing and cringing under the iron rule of military power. There was the grandson of the great warrior chief who so long kept the English at bay in the almost impe-

vating it to its proper place among the nations. Not only has it excellences peculiar to itself, but in all that it shares in common with other Eastern lands, few can surpass the position which it occupies. In its manufactures, the features of its landscapes, the structure of its cities, and in its monuments of ancient grandeur, it falls not a whit behind other portions of the Eastern world. Its boundless plains, laden with crops of rice, wheat, mustard, &c., are far more extensive, and not less fertile, than those of Roumelia and Egypt. The icy capes and mountains of Siberia cannot be compared with the higher ranges of the Himalayas, whose proud peaks, covered with eternal snow, rear their heads in silent grandeur to the heavens. The wide-spread valleys of Cashmere and the Dhoon, are not less lovely than that of Samarcand, or even than the far-famed vale of Tempe itself. Benares, Delhi, or Lucknow will well compare with Cairo or Constantinople. The strange arches of Orissa, and the towers of the temples at Puri and Konarak, find no parallel but in the cyclopean wall of the Peloponnesus, and in the treasury of Mycenæ. The Alhambra is proud among palaces, but Bayard Taylor declares it to be far surpassed by the palaces of Akbar and Shah Jehan. The tombs of the Mamelukes are numbered among the celebrities of Cairo, but they are more than equalled by those of kings, priests, and nobles, scattered widely round the cities of Agra and Delhi. The Church of St. Sophia, and the Mosque of Solymán, are the pride of Constantinople; but among all Mohammedan buildings, whether mosques or mausolea, nothing can come up to the exquisite beauty and wondrous grandeur of the Taj Mahal. These things appear plain to travellers, who, from personal experience, are able to compare the scenery and the monuments of one land with those of another." These words are true, and justify a deep interest in India, not only on the part of those commercially or politically concerned, but of those who, as men of benevolence or Christianity, desire to influence her social condition beneficially, and to throw the light of civilization, knowledge, and charity, into the dark places of her error, cruelty, and degradation.

The social peculiarities of India have attracted the attention of statesmen and *litterateurs* in England, and our tales and novels begin to afford a place to Indian officials and heroes, as well as our graver works a place for the serious discussion of her concerns. The social life of India, ancient and modern, now interests the English people, and not only the inhabitants of these islands, but of Europe and of the United States. All

thoughtful men must at last arrive at the conclusion that so long as the religions of India prevail, it will be impossible to modify the moral and social condition of the people.

It is a grave fault with independent settlers in India that they seldom appreciate the country. This is often the case even with the civil servants of the company, although thoroughly imbued with the Philo-Indian spirit, noticed elsewhere in these pages. Nowhere else in the world do educated men work so hard. Wearied out with heat and labour, they have little disposition for exploring the country, and enjoying its noble scenery. To make a fortune, and return home, is the grand object with all. Very numerous is the proportion of those who have resided in the capitals of the presidencies who never travelled a day's journey into the interior. It is no uncommon thing to meet in this country "old Indians," as Europeans who have returned home after a long residence there are generally termed, who are more ignorant of the peculiarities of Indian scenery, the physical features of the country, and the social life of the people, than persons of their class and station in England who have never visited that country. When the reader reflects upon the glorious scenery, and the attractive objects of nature and art which India possesses, this will seem extraordinary, notwithstanding the incessant toil to which Europeans in India are exposed. The *Calcutta Review* accounts for it in these terms:—"Unhappily, we have very few, if any books, that can be regarded as complete guides. Heber's travels, one of the best in former times, is now much out of date. The routes he describes are unfrequented, and his modes of travelling have become obsolete. A work, therefore, which describes in a lively and readable way objects most worthy of observation cannot be without interest." It is upon the principle expressed in this passage that the author of this History has presented so much in detail the country and its people in the descriptions given in these pages.

The events of the great mutiny of 1857-8 have opened up a new social question connected with India—the treatment of her criminals. The Duke of Wellington, when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley and serving in India, complained that capital punishment was too frequently resorted to by the British, and too much relied upon as a means of checking vice among the Hindoos. Other great officers and civilians have also recommended incarceration, chains, the lash, infliction of the loss of caste in various forms, and transportation, as substitutes for capital punishment, far more effectual in d :

their power in every direction to the east, to Kasi, Magadha, Benares, and Bahar; southward, to the Vindaya hills, and across them to Vidarbha or Berar; westward, along the Narmada to Kusasthali and Dwaraka, in Gujerat; and in a north-westerly direction to Mathura and Hastinapura. There are existing evidences to corroborate the conclusion that settlements were also made in Banga, Kalinga, and Dakhin, though at a far subsequent period. For this information, obtained from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, we have to thank the facilities afforded by the learned and eminent translator. And these are the only historical facts which can yet be gleaned from the numerous legends, which are the only means afforded of distinguishing from fifty to seventy generations of contemporaneous dynasties.

After these follows in succession Rama,* a personage whose identity has been established, and who occupies a very prominent position in the history of his race, the hero of its oldest and greatest poem, the *Rama Yana*. He is described as a conqueror of the highest renown; the deliverer of nations from tyrants, and also of his wife Sita from the power of the giant Ravana, King of Lauka (Ceylon). He is reported to have been essentially aided in the achievement by an army of monkeys, commanded by Hunman, the high-cheek-boned. This prince, in all probability, possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan, and subdued no small portion of the Deccan, and also penetrated into Ceylon. He is said to have been excluded from his hereditary throne, and to have devoted many years of his life to ascetic devotion. However glorious may have been a portion of his reign, the close was disastrous. Having imprudently slain his brother Lachman, the partner of his dangers and his triumphs, his regret or remorse was so poignant that he cast himself into a river, and there perished. His followers deified him: by posterity he has been worshipped as a personification of the deity, and his ally Hunman, in some places, receives equal honour.† Sir William Jones, in his enthusiastic partiality for the East, has suggested, with very little success, an explanation of the fabled absurdity of his having been assisted by monkeys:—"Might not his army of monkeys have been only a race of mountaineers

* Tod reckons fifty-seven princes from Ikshwaku to Rama; Sir William Jones gives fifty-six; Bentley agrees with Sir William Jones; Colonel Wilford's list Tod pronounces of no use; and other authors of repute abstain from any enumeration, prudently abiding the time till critical search shall succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259.

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whom Rama had civilized." He even attaches some degree of credibility to the tale:—"In two or three places on the banks of the Ganges the Indian apes, at this moment, live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity."*

After Rama, sixty princes of his reign succeeded to his throne, but the seat of empire, in all probability, was translated, as Elphinstone surmises, from Oude to Canouj.

The great war celebrated in the *Mhaha Bharat*,† next presents itself in Indian history. The belligerents were two branches of the reigning family. The object of contention was the territory of Hastinapura, probably on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‡ The disputants were members of the Lunar family, sons of two brothers, Pandu and Dhritarashtra, but aided by allies from remote quarters. The sons of the former, five in number, were Yudisthira, Bhima, and Arjuna, by one of his wives, Pritha, and Nakula and Sahadiva, by his other wife, Madri. The family of Dhritarashtra was as numerous as the progeny of Priam, with one daughter only. Dugodhana was the eldest of the hundred sons, and detested his cousins with bitter and unrelenting hate.

In the East any one tainted with leprosy was disqualified from reigning; and Pandu, the pale, as his name expresses, was, in consequence of his pallor, suspected of possessing the seeds of that disease; therefore, though by birth the heir to the throne, he was set aside. He surrendered his claim to his brother, and sought a remote retreat in the Himalaya Mountains; and there, released from the cares of a crown, passed his life in retirement. On his death, the companions of his seclusion conveyed his orphan sons to

* The banner of Arjuna, one of the Pandavas, had as its armorial bearing a painted representation of Hunman. It is worthy of remark, that it was also the device exhibited upon the flag of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, when captured by Lord Combermere.

† The text of the *Mhaha Bharat* has been printed at Calcutta, in four quarto volumes. The work was commenced by the committee of public instruction, and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Selections from it have been edited by Francis Johnson, Professor of Sanscrit, East India College, Herts, from whose interesting preface and copious and learned notes, has been compiled the details in the text. Elphinstone is of opinion that the story of the *Mhaha Bharat* is much more probable than that of the *Rama Yana*, and contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on fact, and, like the *Iliad*, is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors. It was probably written in the fourteenth century before Christ.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 340.

It is said the buildings were eighty crore* in number.

Ashowg, identical with Asoka, established during his reign the rites of Brahma, and those of Jyen subsequently. He is described as a prince who ruled with equity; his son Jelowk was a prince of great administrative ability, who extended his conquests to the seashore, and on his return to Cashmere brought in his suite from Kanoje, formerly the capital of Hindostan, many learned and wise men, from whom he selected seven to preside respectively over the following departments—justice, exchequer, treasury, army, commerce, royal household, astrology, and alchemy.

In the reign of Rajah Werk the Brahmins rose superior to the Buddhists, and burnt down their temples. His reign is fixed by Professor Wilson B.C. 490.

Mihiracula, or Mehrkul, n.c. 310,† made extensive conquests. A curious tale is recorded of this reign, which, divested of its metaphorical character, discloses the general laxity of morals which then prevailed. A large stone appeared in one of the rivers of Cashmere, and entirely blocked it up, and whatever was cut away from it in the daytime grew again in the course of the night. The workmen abandoned their labours in despair. Then a mysterious voice proclaimed that if a virtuous woman touched the stone with her hand it would disappear. Royal proclamation was made, and woman after woman was brought, who touched it without producing any effect. The king had the women put to death for their incontinency, their children for their illegitimacy, and the husbands for conniving at this wholesale harlotry. Three million lives had been forfeited, when an humble woman, a potter, was found, free from taint; her virgin touch dispatched the magic stone, and gave an open channel to the rock-obstructed stream.‡ A reign so sanguinary was terminated by a death deserved by its atrocities. As he advanced in years he became the victim of an excruciating disease. His suffering, it appears, made him keenly feel the torments he had recklessly inflicted upon myriads. To expiate his crimes, he resolved on a voluntary death, and a funeral pile was erected for his obsequies. An obstacle here presented itself. He had appropriated the endowments of the higher orders of the priesthood, and appointed to the dis-

charge of the sacerdotal functions an inferior and disreputable caste—the Gandha Brahmins, a low race. The consequence was, that now, in the hour of his extreme need, no one could be found duly qualified to perform the ceremonies of his cremation, those impure tribes of Doradas, Bhoteas, and Mechhas, the recipients of his favours, alone being accessible. The Brahmins of Aryadesa were invited, by the offer of liberal treatment, to return. A pile was constructed of military weapons, to the summit of which the repentant monarch ascended, and amid its flames he yielded up his spirit, purified, as he believed, from those sins, which, his traditions taught him, were expiated by his voluntary immolation.

Vaca, or Beek, the son of this last noticed monarch, succeeded to him. His name has been perpetuated in connection with a city which he founded on the banks of the river Vacavati, called Lavanotsa, and a religious rite at which he assisted. The names of his immediate successors are the only known surviving memorials of their reigns.

Kubaret, or Gopaditya, governed with wisdom and justice. He was a prince of eminent piety, and in whose reign they report the golden age, *Satya*, was restored. He imposed a strict observance of the ritual and distinctions of caste, reformed the priesthood by the ejection of evil-doers, and the enforcement of rigid discipline; he encouraged Brahmins of literary reputation and exalted virtue to resort to his kingdom, and throughout his dominions all were strictly prohibited from destroying animal life, and all ranks of people were enjoined to abstain from flesh meat. According to the Mohammedan authorities, he built a temple near the capital, called Takht Suliman, which, with several other places of Hindoo worship, in later ages, was destroyed by Sekander, called the Idol-breaker, one of the first Mohammedan kings of Cashmere. After a reign of sixty years, he was succeeded by his son Kurren, or Gokerna, of whom it is merely related that he built a temple.

Jewdishter, or Yndishtira, surnamed the Blind, from the smallness of his eyes, was the last of his race who mounted the throne of Cashmere. By his sensual indulgence and insupportable tyranny, he so estranged his subjects, and outraged the feelings of neighbouring princes, that, by a combination of Cashmerians and the kings of Hindostan and Thibet, according to the *Ayin Akberi*, he was defeated, captured, and ignominiously cast into prison. Professor Wilson states that when he found resistance hopeless, he fled and secreted himself in the woods and

* A crore comprised one hundred lacs, or ten millions, an incredible number.—*Hand-book of British India*.

† The dates here assigned are from the adjusted chronology of Professor Wilson, on whose authority—and there exists no higher—they may be accepted.

tains with his women and a few followers. Doomed to exchange luxury for privation, the downy couch for the sharp rock, and the harmony of minstrels for the wild dashing of cascades or the wilder horns of the mountaineers, he at last found a refuge in the court of some compassionate prince, where, according to general belief, he died in exile.*

As this reign terminates the close of a dynasty, and, according to the chronology we have followed, has brought the narrative to the beginning of the second century, to a

period nearly coinciding with that at which the history of the kingdom of Magada was interrupted, and as near the epoch of Alexander and Chandragupta as we could conveniently approach, it is advisable to resume the thread of our history where we diverged, and devote a chapter to the expedition of the great Macedonian, and its consequences, the only truly historic and well-authenticated episode in the ante-Mohammedan records of India, and the point from which contemporaneous annals afford us an insight into the transactions of the countries beyond the Indus.

CHAPTER XXX.

INVASION OF THE GREEKS—ALEXANDER THE GREAT—SELEUCUS NICATOR—THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

THE conquests made in India by the Persian monarch Sesostriis,† and which constituted his wealthiest and most lucrative satrapy, descended to his successors, and, it may be inferred, remained subject to them down to the fall of that empire, and the imposition of the rule of the Greeks.

The fall of Darius, the appropriation of his home empire, the discomfiture of Bessus, and the subjugation of Bactria and the countries which lay between the Oxus and Tanais, or Transoxantes, the defeat of the King of Scythia, and subsequent alliance, and the overthrow and acquisition of Sogdiana, enabled Alexander, in the tenth year of his reign, and the seventh after his invasion of Persia, to direct his immediate attention to the state of India.

The perilous situation of Persia, and its eventual subjection, in all probability, inspired the Indian satrapy with the hope of being able to proclaim its independence. The occasion appeared to be the most favourable for the attempt. The great extent of the Persian empire, the remote situation of India, the violent opposition, which might be reasonably calculated on, from the powerful satraps whose territories intervened between the Indus and the seat of government, the length of time which would be devoted to the organization of the new government, all combined to confirm the assumption that they might act with impunity. India was too rich a prize to be easily relinquished; its products, borne on the wings of commerce to the far West, were long previously articles of necessity to the wealthy, refined, and luxurious Greeks. A

more intimate acquaintance with these enriching productions, obtained through Persian channels, and the fact, which their fiscal returns recorded, that its tributes constituted nearly one-half the public revenue of that wealthy empire, decided the Macedonian on imposing his yoke upon them.

The history of Alexander the Great is the theme of every schoolboy's declamation. No personage is more familiar to every tyro, in some phases of his character. The means by which he secured the supreme command over the combined forces of the congregated states of Greece, the rapidity with which he spread far and wide his conquests, the vastness of his military conceptions, his untiring energies, mastery of details, and administrative capacity, have been universally recognised, and have placed him in the van of the most able and most illustrious of heroes. The destruction of the city of Tyre, the Western emporium of the commerce of the East, and the stores of the Indian province, and probably the cognition of the fact, that whatever nation from the remotest antiquity monopolised that trade became the arbiter of the destinies of the world, inspired the first thought of carrying his arms into the far East.

The brilliant achievements which crowded the history of the campaigns which led to the total discomfiture of the Persian armies, the flight of Darius, and the total subjugation of the great empire founded by Cyrus, though they furnish the most thrilling chapters of history, have no direct claim to a place in Indian story.

The battle of Arbela was the last stand made by Darius for his throne and personal

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 31.

† See page 366.

the top of the breach. By this a body of targeteers crossed over, but such was the precipitation with which the soldiers crowded to enter the city, the bridge gave way, and all upon it fell with it from its elevation. The Indians reaped all the advantages of the disaster. With loud shouts they rushed upon their prostrate assailants; others from the walls hurled showers of stones and darts and all kinds of missiles; and some issuing from the small posterns, between the towers, in the walls, completed the destruction of those who had fallen. Fresh troops were sent from the camp to the succour of the besiegers, and to cover their retreat. On the fourth day Alexander projected another bridge, from other works, with similar success. At length all his efforts to capture the town having failed, terms of capitulation were agreed to. At Bazira and Ora the Macedonians met with a brave resistance. At Ora a number of elephants were captured; these, the historian Arrian states, were appropriated to the use of the army.

When the intelligence of the fall of Ora had reached the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Bazira, they fled from their city in the dead of night to Aornos, a place of great security; a position which has commanded a prominent place in history, though its geographical identity has hitherto baffled all speculation. The situation of Bazira, a fort of the Assaceni, was somewhere at the south foot of Mount Paropamisus; and it is, with some probability, maintained that it is the Bajore, or Bisore, of modern times, north-west of Peshawur, but its site is by no means certain.* And in this respect it shares the common fate of the localities in this direction, mentioned in the narrative of Alexander's Indian proceedings. Only a few places have as yet been identified—namely, Maracanda, the modern Samarcand; the river Polytimetus, the modern Kohik; and Baetria, or Zariaspo, the modern Balk. The recent extension of the British power in the north-west, will bring the classic lands of the Macedonian operations within the sphere of antiquarian and scientific investigation, and a few years must, necessarily, bring to light the materials—abundant it may be fairly assumed, though unheeded or unrecorded—which have been left by the followers of the great conqueror of Asia. The capture of this rock has been looked upon as the most extraordinary achievement of the most extraordinary man who has yet trod the human stage; and

* Arrian, b. iv. c. xxviii; Curtius, b. viii. c. xi; Diodorus, b. xviii. c. lxxv. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*; Grote, vol. xii. p. 304; *Bengal Journal*, 1854.

though the history of its capture has formed hitherto a page of Grecian story, its equally appropriate locale is the Indian records. The Greek historian,—or rather the Egyptian; being a native of Alexandria,—Appian, gives the particulars. Aornos is described as the most stupendous natural fortress in all the East. The Indians had long deemed it impregnable. According to the old traditions of the country, the gods had essayed in vain to take it. Three times it is reported to have defied the efforts of the invincible all-conquering Heracles, the reputed ancestor of the Macedonian. The rock is described as being twelve miles in circuit, and the lowest part of it three quarters of a mile above the plain. Did not its great strength impose the prudence of dislodging its warlike occupants, the prospective glory of accomplishing that which had defied all his predecessors was sufficient to incite Alexander to the perilous enterprise. A precipitous, dangerous, and solitary path, the work of human labour, was the only means of ascent. On the summit was a fine spring of pure water, which welled forth a plentiful stream, that leaped down its craggy sides. A wood encircled a great portion of its ascent, and its surface supplied as much arable and fertile land as was requisite for provisioning a garrison of one thousand men. Alexander sent forward Hephæstion with orders to make preparations for bridging the Indus, while the great conqueror himself remained to have the distinction of directing the advances, and of securing the occupation of this fortress. He designed, should he not succeed in reducing it, at first, either by assault or stratagem, to weary the garrison by a protracted siege, or starve them into submission. Treachery lent its mercenary aid to facilitate the hostile projects of the beleaguers. The secret path was disclosed, and Ptolemy sent in command of a sufficient force to avail himself of the opportunity. Ptolemy, having triumphed over every difficulty of the situation, and, through this rugged and dangerous path, having gained the summit, as he had been commanded, reared a burning torch on that part of the hill whence it could be most distinctly seen. This being observed by Alexander, he prepared for an assault on the following day. The assailants were fiercely received and eventually repelled. The attacking force under Alexander having been thus obliged to withdraw, the Indians directed their whole strength against Ptolemy, and a dreadful conflict ensued, the besieged having resolved to demolish the rampart which he had thrown up for his protection, while he endeavoured with all his might to defend it. Galled by the incessant discharge of the

Macedonian archers, the besieged were compelled to retreat on the approach of night to their former position. During the following night Alexander dispatched an Indian scout, on whose fidelity and aptitude he could rely, to communicate to Ptolemy his orders, that when he perceived him about to form the rock below, he should, on his side, make a simultaneous attack, and thus prevent the besieged from concentrating their force on the point of assault. At break of day Alexander led his division to the place where, as has been above related, Ptolemy had ascended, being satisfied that if the difficulties of that ascent were surmounted, and both forces united, the enemy would be soon driven from their stronghold. Breast to breast was the fight maintained without relaxation; the one party struggling to ascend, the other to hurl them downwards; while at convenient intervals the wearied warriors of the front rank, were relieved by fresh succours from the rear. Through the entire day this personal conflict was vigorously sustained; at last the Macedonians reached the top, and were received by their exulting friends. The united forces, without respite, made a combined attack—again in vain; night closed the encounter without any further advantage being gained. Alexander now despaired of carrying the fortress by the unaided prowess of his men, and had recourse to his strategic skill for aid. When daylight appeared, he ordered his troops to bring from an adjacent wood, each one hundred poles or stakes, and with these materials he caused a huge rampart to be constructed from that part of the hill where their entrenchments were to a level with the summit of the rock possessed by the Indians, that from this elevation they might be enabled to annoy the enemy with their darts and arrows. While this laborious and exposed operation was in progress, Alexander was cheering his toiling soldiers with word and example.

The army carried on the rampart the length of a full furlong during the day, and, on the following, on the portion thus completed, he stationed his slingers and engineers, who defended the workmen from attack. Thus in three days the work, as originally designed, was finished. On the fourth a little hill, as high as the defences of the enemy, was gallantly carried and secured by a spirited charge; to this, as a terminus, Alexander decided on prolonging the rampart. The boldness of this undertaking, and the skill and rapidity with which it was executed, made the Indians despair of being longer able to hold their position. They now resolved to abandon it, and in order to effect their purpose on the following night, unperceived by the enemy,

they had recourse to an artifice. They sent a herald to Alexander to announce to him that they were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender themselves into his hands. Their concealed intentions were to lull his suspicions by these negotiations, and under the favour of the darkness of the night to steal away, and betake themselves to their homes. Alexander was informed of their design, and availed himself of it. He allowed sufficient space for their purpose, by withdrawing the sentinels, and in person awaited their descent. When the defences were evacuated, accompanied by seven hundred of his guards and targeteers, he himself first entered the rock which the enemy had just deserted, and his troops, by helping one the other, climbed up after him. Once in possession, a pre-arranged signal was given, and the main body of the Macedonians fell upon the disorganized and unprotected garrison, and cut many of them to pieces. Hundreds, seized with panic and fear, in their flight fell headlong from the precipices, and perished. Alexander was thus in possession of the rock which had defied the assaults of all previous assailants, and tradition included amongst those, Hercules, his ancestor. Having offered sacrifice, and supplied the place with a sufficient garrison, he entrusted the command to Sisicottus, an Indian prince, who had, in previous years, fled from his native country, for some cause, to Bessus, in Bactria, and hail in that country, and during the present campaign, rendered Alexander most essential services.

The site of this stronghold has been a subject of inquiry to several modern scholars. The discrepancies which exist in the description of it by Arrian and Curtius have added to the difficulties. The most elaborate and valuable paper on the subject is the "Gradus ad Aornos," by Major Abbot, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 4, 1854. His views are here quoted, and if he has not decided the question, he has supplied materials which are calculated to lead to its early solution. The train of investigation which he has pursued was suggested by the very Reverend J. Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan, in his *Life of Alexander*, the best biography of the Macedonian which has appeared in the English language, in which it was suggested that it was to be sought on the right bank of the Indus:—"The whole ac-

* "The rock is not known to me from modern authorities, nor do I know of any traveller who has examined this remote corner. It is on the right bank of the Indus, close to the river, but I have no means to ascertain the exact site. A traveller going up the right bank from Attock could not fail to find it."—ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS' *Life and Actions of Alexander the Great*, New York edition, p. 293.

count of the rock of Aornos is a faithful picture of the mountain Mahabunn. It was the most remarkable feature of the country, as is the Mahabunn. It was the refuge of the neighbouring tribes. It was covered with forests. It had good soil, sufficient for one thousand ploughs, and pure springs of water everywhere abounded. It was 4125 feet above the plain, and fourteen miles in circuit. It was precipitous on the side of Embolima, yet not so steep but that two hundred and twenty horses and the war engines were taken to the summit. The summit was a plain where cavalry could net. It would be difficult to add a more faithful description of the Mahabunn.* Why the historian should call the rock Aornos, it is difficult to say. The side on which Alexander scaled the main summit had certainly the character of a rock, but the whole description of Arrian indicates a table-mountain. The fortification itself, though styled the rock, does not seem to have been very lofty nor formidable. Alexander assailed it without scaling ladders the night of its evacuation, and was the first, as has been said, to ascend it. This we learn from the remark, 'that the soldiers drew one the other up the rock.' No European in modern times has ascended the Mahabunn. The accounts of natives are so vague that it is difficult to trust them; it is certain, however, that the Mahabunn has been occupied by castles in two or three places. The best known of these is called Shahkote, or 'the royal castle,' a modern name, which may refer to the visit of Nadir Shah, who pitched his tent on that spot. Another castle is said to have stood on the brink of a precipice of several hundred feet deep. To the westward is the table of Mahabunn. To the north is a ravine, and beyond it a small hill of the same height as the rock, or mound, on which the castle stood. The water on which the garrison depended was a spring in this ravine. When the mound was lost the garrison had no choice but to surrender. This site appears to answer best the description of Arrian. Ptolemy might have easily passed round to the east, and have occupied the point on the mountain crest. The ordinary path of ascent would have placed Alexander also on the left, that is south of the fort. He would have broken ground at two hundred and fifty yards, that is beyond arrow-flight, and have driven his trench up obliquely to the fort. The capture of the small hill near, would not only have cut off the water of the garrison,

* *Mahabunn* signifies mighty forest or mighty pool. The original name had been *Mahabutt*, "mighty rock," which would account for the Greeks calling it emphatically the rock.—ABBOTT.

but in case of assault, left them no choice but to fly down the precipice on the east, where every man must have perished in the hot pursuit, whereas, when favoured by night, the paths were practicable to mountaineers well acquainted with them. From Aornos Alexander went in search of the brother of Assacenus, who had rallied his forces in the mountains, and had carried off some of the elephants. From the summit of the Mahabunn the extensive valleys of Boonair and Chumla lie spread out to view—the probable retreat of fugitives from Sohan. When, however, the enemy had mastered the Mahabunn by the north-western spur, Alexander would have found himself in Chumla. The country was utterly deserted by its inhabitants, and Alexander does not seem to have attempted to retain possession of it by occupying it with garrisons or colonies. He probably thought the valley too remote from support, and too much shut in by the mountains."*

This is a strong case of identity, and would have been conclusive could it be reconciled to the description of Curtius, who compares Aornos to a meta (the conical goal of a stadium), and says that the Indus washed its base—that at the first assault several Macedonian soldiers were hurled down into the river. This close juxtaposition of the Indus has been the principal feature looked for by travellers who have sought Aornos, but no place has yet been found answering the conditions required. The fall of Aornos, while it added greatly to the fame of Alexander, struck terror and dismay into the contiguous states. The Assaceni fled with their elephants to the mountains. Dyrta and the surrounding country were so wholly abandoned by the inhabitants, that not one could be found to supply any information to the Greeks.

Alexander, anxious to glean some knowledge of the customs of these clans, their mode of warfare, and the number of their elephants, dispatched Nearchus and Antiochus, with large bodies of troops, to endeavour to catch some of the inhabitants. He in the meantime prosecuted his journey towards the Indus, having sent troops before him to level the road, which was unfit for the passage of his army. His scouts having brought to him some of the natives, he learned that the entire population had fled to Bari-ades for protection, but that their elephants had been left in the pastures near the river Indus. Conducted by these natives, he set out in quest of the elephants. Two of them, in the endeavour to obtain possession of these animals, tumbled from the rocks, and perished, the remainder

* *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1854, p. 311, &c.

were safely secured, and conveyed to the army for their use. Near these pastures he opportunely discovered a wood, extending to the river, capable of supplying ample materials for building boats. To this use they were expeditiously appropriated, and the boats being built, were forwarded to the bridge which Hephæstion and Perdicas had by this time completed. Alexander then entered that part of the country which lies between the Cophen and Indus. It was in passing through this district that he visited Nysa,* a city sacred to Dionysius (Bacchus). As soon as the inhabitants were apprised of his arrival, they sent to him their chief, Akonplius, and thirty elders, to claim his protection. These envoys having been abruptly introduced to Alexander's tent, surprised him, dusty with travel, and clad in his mail armour, his helmet beside him, and his spear in his grasp. In utter amazement at the figure before them they prostrated themselves on the ground, and for a considerable time kept silence. At length reassured by the king, their chief is reported by Arrian to have addressed to him the following extraordinary speech, which, if credit-worthy, evidences a far closer intercourse between the East and far West than is disclosed by any known passage of the ante-Alexandrian period. As a mythological illustration it proves the connection between the Asiatic and European superstitions, and historically confirms the conclusion arrived at in a former chapter, of the very early relations existing between the extremes of the ancient world. Akonplius thus accosted him:—"O king, the Nyseans entreat you, by the respect in which you hold Dionysius, to leave them free, and their own masters. Their claims are these: when Dionysius had conquered the Indian race, he returned to the Hellenic sea. From the outworn of his army, Dionysius founded this great city, as a memorial of his wandering and his victory to after generations,—even as thou thyself hast founded Alexandria in the Caucasian Mountains, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and many others hast thou founded, and shalt found, from time to time, even as thou hast shown greater exploits than Dionysius. Dionysius assuredly called this city Nysa,† after his nurse Nysa, and the country Nysaia; and that mountain which is near the city, Dionysius named Meros the Thigh, because according to fable he grew in the thigh of Jupiter. From that time have we dwelt in Nysa the free,—and we are free, and are a commonwealth, and peaceably have

we lived under the protection of our own laws. And of our origin from Dionysius we have this undoubted testimony, 'the ivy, which here abounds, and grows nowhere else in Indian soil.'"

This oration, it is said, was most acceptable to Alexander, who had an interest in having the story of Dionysius and his travels accredited, and in his being believed to be the founder of Nysa. These being taken for granted, it would be universally recognised that his own conquests were not only co-extensive with those of the mythic and divine hero, but had penetrated far beyond them. It was also conducive to his projected measures to make these fables subservient to his designs. He knew the influence their being believed in would exercise over the minds of the Macedonians, who though now over three thousand miles distant from their homes, fatigued by the labours of eight campaigns, many of them loaded with honours and riches, were about to be led, through the insatiable ambition of their restless monarch, beyond that river which to them was the bounds of the explored world, to the perilous enterprise of attempting new acquisitions, and from peoples whose bravery they had to apprehend from the stern resistance with which they had been recently so effectively opposed. It is more than probable that at this early period were heard through the camp the sullen murmurings of that discontent which at a subsequent and not very remote period, terminated the onward course of the Macedonian conqueror. That the interview narrated took place there is no reasonable doubt, and that the speech addressed to Alexander, was faithfully reported, there is every reasonable assurance to believe. But the probability is that the king took advantage of the similarity of names, and the unusual presence of the ivy, and preconcerted the dramatic interview with the deputation from Nysa, in order to gratify the pride and vanity of his Grecian soldiers, and thus reconcile them to the campaign for which he was then preparing. He conceded to the Nyseans a full confirmation of their liberties merely stipulating that they should furnish him with three hundred horsemen as a military contribution, and a hundred of their *best men* as hostages. At the last demand the king observed that Akonplius smiled, and when asked to state the cause of his mirth, he replied that Alexander was welcome to that number, nay, to double that number of the *bad men* in Nysa, but wished to know how any city could be governed if deprived of one hundred of its *best men*. Alexander, pleased with the answer, took the cavalry, but remitted the hostages.

* A small town in the country of the Assaceni, in the Western Punjab.

† There were several towns of that name dedicated to Dionysius.

The observations on this passage by the very reverend Archdeacon Williams are so masterly conceived, and pertinent to the subject, though at variance with the conjectures above ventured, that they are considered worthy of quotation:—"It is difficult to account for those and other traces of Hercules and Dionysius which are gravely recorded in the writings of Alexander's most trustworthy historian. The arms of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had no doubt been carried to the Indus, and the rock Aornos might have been repeatedly besieged in vain by the Persians; Greeks also from Ionia, Doris, and Eolis, might have been settled according to the well-known policy of the Persians on this distant frontier, and have carried with them the mysteries of Bacchus: yet with all this it is difficult to believe that the Macedonians, who had travelled over the most enlightened and civilized states of Asia without discovering one trace of Hercules and Dionysius, should thus find vestiges of the supposed expeditions of both heroes in the obscure corner between the river of Cabul and the Indus. Might not some Macedonians have visited Nysa during the celebration of the festival of the Hindoo god Rama, and easily recognized his identity with their own Dionysius? The following passage, from Bishop Heber's *Journal in India*, is the best illustration of the subject:—"The two brothers, Rama and Luchmun, in a splendid palace, were conducting the retreat of their army. The divine Hunniman, as naked, and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a

baboon, and two great pointed clubs in his hands. His army followed—a number of men with similar tails and masks—their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the satyrs, smeared with wine lees, and the great Pan commanding them."

Alexander, with the companion cavalry, and the flower of the phalanx, ascended Mount Meros, that he might see a hill over-spread with laurel and ivy, and groves of every variety of trees, and stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. The Macedonians delighted by beholding, after such a lapse of time, their fondly revered green ivy-plant, memorial of their homes and altars, wove it into chaplets and wreathed their brows, sung hymns to Bacchus, and invoked him by all his names. Costly sacrifices were offered in his honour, and sumptuous feasts of regal magnificence prolonged the solemnities. To such a pitch was the general enthusiasm inflamed that Arrian states, on the authority of some preceding writers, that Macedonians of the first rank during the banquet, their brows encircled with ivy, in religious frenzy made the mountains re-echo with long-continued acclamations of *Evoe!* and *Bacche!* From Nysa the whole army marched to the bridge erected over the Indus, as Alexander had commanded. The whole summer and winter, as recorded from Aristobulus by Strabo, had been spent in the march from Bactria and their late campaign among the mountains, and with the commencement of spring they descended into the plains.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ALEXANDER CROSSING THE INDUS, AND SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS.

THE laborious operations accomplished amidst the severities of winter, despite natural obstacles of no ordinary magnitude, and against foes not to be despised, imposed the necessity of giving some little respite to the army previous to their entering on their ninth campaign. They halted for thirty days on the western bank of the Indus, and spent their time in the performance of religious rites, and gymnastic and equestrian sports, and the indulgence of all sorts of festivities. In addition to the bridge, which, as has been stated, was completed, he found two large vessels also built, with thirty oars, besides many more small ones.

It is presumed, on grounds sufficiently satisfactory, that the Grecian army crossed the Indus at Attock. At this period the region immediately to the east of the upper course of the river owned three independent sovereigns: Abisares, whose territories lay amongst the mountains; Taxiles, who ruled over the country immediately in front, stretching from the Indus to the Hydaspes (the Jhelum); and Porus, whose dominions extended from the Hydaspes eastward—a prince who from the military resources at his command, appears to have been an object of suspicion and fear to his neighbours on every side.*

* Williams's *Alexander the Great*, p. 236.

Taxiles, whose name appears to have been derived either from the capital of his dominions, or from the office which he bore, immediately proffered his submission, and sent a princely present of two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep and thirty elephants, and a reinforcement of seven hundred Indian horse.

The construction of the bridge across the Indus has not been described by any of the historians of Alexander's Indian campaign: Arrian, who regrets the omission, thinks it was composed of vessels close bound together; and to this conclusion he is drawn, not by the fact that the extraordinary depth of the river would prevent piles being driven, but because a great work so built could not be accomplished in the short time occupied by it.

Alexander, having gained the other side of the Indus, again offered sacrifices to the gods, and then proceeding on his journey he arrived at Taxilla,* a large wealthy city, and the most populous between the Indus and the Jhelum. By Taxiles and his subjects he was received in the most friendly manner, and in return for this reception he assigned to him as much of the adjacent country as he desired. Thither came ambassadors to him from Abisares, with his brother and some of his nobles, and from Doxarens, another prince of that country, with presents also. Although Alexander treated Taxiles with such high distinction and consideration, he nevertheless left a governor in the province, and placed a garrison in the city. Here he also left all his invalids for the recovery of their health, and then moved on towards the Jhelum, on the eastern bank of which he was informed a powerful prince, Porus, was encamped with a formidable force to dispute his passage. On receiving this intelligence he dispatched an officer back to the Indus with instructions to have those vessels with which he had crossed that river taken to pieces, and transported to the Jhelum, and there put together again, and launched upon it. This was accordingly done, the smaller vessels being divided into two parts, the larger (of thirty oars) into three.

Strabo asserts that the Macedonians marched in a southern direction from the Indus to the Jhelum. It is probable, then, that the advance of the army was along the main road leading from Attock to Jellapore. On his

march he was strengthened by the accession of five thousand Indian horse, under the command of Taxiles and other native princes. As he had previously heard, on his arrival he found Porus encamped on the opposite side, with his whole army surrounded by elephants. Every spot, both above and below the main road, that presented facilities for passing, was carefully and skilfully guarded, and instructions given that wherever the enemy attempted a passage they were to be confronted. Alexander, startled by these preparations, resolved to divide his army in the same manner into several parties, in the hope of distracting Porus, and thus rendering his arrangements fruitless.

Alexander was convinced by the preparations so skilfully made for his reception that he had no contemptible opponent to deal with, and that his policy should be to deceive Porus as to his immediate intentions. He ordered his troops to lay waste the surrounding country, and while on this duty covertly to survey the river, and ascertain where it might with greatest facility be crossed. He had large supplies of corn conveyed to his camp from all the country lying to the west of the Hydaspes. The object of this accumulation of stores was to induce Porus to believe that it was his determination to remain in his present entrenchments till the waters of the river had subsided, and an opportunity would be afforded him of effecting the passage despite all opposition. With his vessels stationed at every convenient point, and the covering of his tents stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank lined with horse and foot, he suffered the enemy to take no rest, and so distracted him, that he could not calculate where the attempt to cross would be made, or what provision to make for the repose and safety of his troops.

Alexander's Indian expedition was undertaken nearly at the close of the spring, when the rainy season had already commenced in the mountains, from which all the rivers of the Punjab flow, and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. At this time of the year the snows on the mountains, melting with the summer heat, contribute to augment the floods, and consequently the streams are both muddy and rapid. In winter, when the snow congeals, the rivers become clearer and shallower, and, with the exception of the Indus and Ganges, are fordable in some places. Alexander caused a report to be sedulously circulated that it was his resolve to abide a favourable opportunity, and not to hazard an attempt till the season would favour the enterprise. In the meantime he was anxiously

* Taxilla, a place of great importance in the Upper Punjab, between the Indus and Hydaspes. The country is reported to be more fertile than Egypt. There can be little doubt that it is represented by the vast ruins of Mankyala. Wilson considers it to be the same as Takhsasila of the Hindoos.—SMITH'S *Dictionary of Geography*.

watching an opportunity to pass over secretly and unobserved by the enemy. The dangers of attempting it openly were many and imminent. Porus was on the alert, and prepared for the contest. His tone was defiant. Curtius relates that Alexander imagined that the prestige of his name might influence the Indian prince to submission, and, with this presumption, dispatched Cleochares with a summons, "that he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass on his frontiers." Porus replied "that he had intended to perform one of these acts, and would meet the Macedonian at his entry, but with an army."* Alexander was also apprehensive of the effect which would be produced by the multitude of elephants in the Indian army, amounting to eighty-five of the best class, which were drawn up in the first line, well accoutred and excellently disciplined, in readiness to fall upon the Macedonians as they emerged from the stream; also lest his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants, which would meet them, and frighten them with their unusual noise and aspect; and, in addition to these considerations, he was in some doubt whether they could be kept on the inflated hides, and so conveyed across the river, for the appearance of the elephants upon the banks before them would terrify them, and force them to plunge into the stream. In the rear of the elephants were ranged three hundred war chariots, and thirty thousand infantry, including bowmen. Porus, himself was mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, which towered above the rest; his armour, enchased with gold and silver, set off with effect his gigantic person. His courage, the Greeks confess, corresponded with his stature, and "his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished barbarian."† The river, on the banks of which the armies were intrenched, is represented to be one English mile in breadth, its channel deep, and similar to an arm of the sea.

Influenced by these various and potent considerations, Alexander resolved on having recourse to stratagem, and thus secretly to secure the unopposed transport of his army. He dispatched, in various detachments, to several parts of the river, by night, his cavalry, with instructions to raise loud shouts, and sound alarms, and to have all things apparently ready for an immediate passage. This order being faithfully carried out, Porus was alarmed, and directed his elephants to be sent wheresoever these demonstrations were made, while Alexander kept a strict watch on

his movements. These alarms having been repeated for several consecutive nights, without any further attempts being made, Porus began to relax his precautions, and eventually desisted from making his observations; and though the Macedonians persevered in their tactics, the Indians treated them with total indifference. The only precaution Porus continued to take was to place guards on several parts of the bank.

Having thus lulled the enemy into supposed security, Alexander made arrangements for a decisive move. During the explorations of the parties who were ordered to survey the river, an island was discovered about nineteen miles above the spot on which the Macedonians were encamped. This island was thickly wooded, and uninhabited, and opposite to it lay a rock, or high point of land, where the channel of the river takes a great sweep, and this also was covered with trees of various kinds. Alexander considered that this was a place suited to his objects, and that there might be advantageously and safely located a large body of his troops, without the cognizance of the enemy. He therefore gave orders for the conveyance thither of a large force of horse and foot. About nine miles up the river—that is, nearly halfway between the camp and the island—he posted some choice troops, and Craterus, with his own body of horse, was left in possession of the camp. He directed that the same uproar which had been indulged in for several nights previous should still be persevered in, and fires lighted through the camp for many nights together; and when he decided on immediately passing over, he made his preparations openly. He gave Craterus strict orders not to attempt to cross before he observed Porus on the other side either coming against them or flying from the field. "If Porus," said he, "should come out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part with the elephants in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then hasten over the river with all your force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses." To the detachment which was posted, as stated, halfway between the camp and the island, he issued instructions to divide the force, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, to ferry over. He had taken the precaution to have the vessels, by the aid of which he had transported his army across the Indus, forwarded to the Hydaspes, and also the hides which he had inflated, and made air-tight. Having completed all the

* Curtius, vol. ii. b. viii. c. xiii.

† Ibid.

preparations which his great abilities had suggested, Providence came then to his aid. The night on which he had arranged for the passage to take place was ushered in by a fierce storm: a dense fog, say the Greek historians, covered the plain, the winds howled, the lightning flashed, and thunder pealed, while the rain fell in incessant torrents. The clash of armour, the tramp of moving hosts, and the noisy confusion of embarkation, were all silenced amid the uproar of the jarring elements. A little before day the winds were hushed, and the rain ceased, and during this auspicious respite as many of the foot and horse as the hides and ships could carry, passed into the island unobserved by the guards which Porus had placed upon the bank. Before they had passed through the island, and were ready to ascend the bank, Alexander, accompanied by some of his principal officers, followed in a vessel of thirty oars. After traversing the island the troops approached what appeared to be the opposite bank of the river, in sight of the enemy's outposts, who rode with all imaginable speed to carry the news to Porus. In the meantime Alexander, the first to ascend the bank, marshaled his troops as they landed, and then led them on in order of battle. As they prosecuted their march, however, they discovered that they had not yet reached the opposite bank—in fact, that they had passed from one island to another, separated by a small stream from the mainland. This stream was so swollen by the rain which had just fallen, that the cavalry could not find a place fordable, and apprehended that this passage would prove more formidable than the former. After some time and difficulty they were successful in finding a point at which they could cross, but even here the water reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers and to the necks of the horses. Having at length accomplished their arduous task, preparations were at once made for an encounter. A squadron of horse, composed of his best soldiers, was posted on the right wing, and the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry; the royal targeteers were placed in the front rank of the infantry, and some mixed amongst the cavalry; next to these were stationed the royal cohort; then the other companies of the targeteers in their several orders; and on the flanks of the phalanx stood the archers and the Arians.

Alexander's army being thus disposed, he commanded his foot, amounting to six thousand, to follow him leisurely, and in order, and, at the head of five thousand horse, he pushed quickly forward. The archers were commanded to follow. Alexander calculated that

should Porus advance against him with all his force, he would be able to defeat him, or sustain the attack till his infantry came up; and that if on his approach the Indians should abandon their ground, he would be at hand to pursue them. As soon as Porus was informed that the Macedonians were crossing over, he dispatched his son with two thousand horse and a hundred and twenty chariots to obstruct or prevent their passage, but previous to their arrival Alexander had landed all his troops. On sight of the approaching enemy Alexander supposed that Porus, with all his forces, was at hand. Into this misapprehension he was led because the rest of the troops were shut out of view by the cavalry, which marched in the van. His scouts having reported to him the true state of the matter, he vigorously charged the Indians with his horse, and put them to flight. Four hundred of the Indian horse were slain, and amongst them was their leader, the son of the king. The chariots, in consequence of the slippery state of the ground, were rather an impediment than a service to the Indians, and most of them, with their horses, fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The communication of the particulars of this disaster, and of the death of his son, and that the greater part of the invading army had effected a passage, so painfully affected Porus that he knew not what measures to adopt; and his distraction was further aggravated by the fact that the troops commanded by Craterus, and posted directly opposite his camp, was endeavouring to pass the river. After some hesitation, he at length resolved to march against Alexander, and to give battle to his division as the strongest, and leave a part of his army and some elephants behind to resist the attempts of Craterus, and to intimidate his horse as they approached the bank of the river. The forces which he led were composed of four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, two hundred elephants, and thirty thousand foot. On his march he reached a plain both firm and sandy, which the late rains had not rendered unfit for the evolutions of his troops and chariots. Here he resolved on drawing up his army, which he did in the following manner:—First, he placed the elephants in the front, at intervals of one hundred feet from each other, in order to cover the whole body of infantry, and at the same time to strike terror into Alexander's horse. He imagined that neither horse nor foot would venture to penetrate the spaces between the elephants. The horsemen, he concluded, could not, because their horses would be terrified by the strange sight of the elephants; and the foot would not dare,

because the armed soldiers would be ready to receive them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot formed the next rank: they were not arranged in the same order as the elephants; they were stationed a little in the rear, and appeared to fill up the interspaces. On the extremes of the wings he stationed elephants bearing large wooden towers filled with armed men. The foot were defended on each flank by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were drawn up before them.

As soon as Alexander had reconnoitred their order of battle, he resolved to refrain from an engagement till his infantry had come up, and when they had arrived, fatigued by the operations of the passage and the march, he felt the necessity of affording them rest and refreshment. Having surrounded them with his cavalry, he left them to their enjoyments, and proceeded himself to review the disposition of the enemy. Their order of battle induced him not to charge them in front, where the great body of the elephants was posted, and the ranks of the foot much thicker in the intermediate spaces. The same apprehensions which led Porus to arrange his army thus, hindered Alexander from attacking him there first. In consequence of his great superiority in horse, he, with the best part of them, resolved on making an attack on Porus' left wing, and, if possible, to break through it. He at the same time dispatched a large body to the right, with orders to charge the Indians in the rear as soon as they were perceived to turn their horse to resist the fury of his attack. The phalanx of foot he commanded not to engage before they perceived the horse and foot of the enemy in disorder; but when they should have come within reach of their missives, to immediately dispatch a thousand archers against the left wing, that by the united charge of these and the cavalry they might be thrown into irremediable disorder. These directions were punctually and effectively executed; and when, as he anticipated and provided for, the left wing was thrown into confusion, he placed himself at the head of the auxiliary horse, and swiftly flew to complete the discomfiture which the archers had initiated.

The Indians, surrounded on all sides, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander. Conjointly, as was arranged, a fierce charge was made on the flanks, and thus they were separated into two parts. The best and most numerous were led against Alexander, and the other division faced about to sustain the attack made on it. This movement served to break the ranks as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander, the mo-

ment he perceived the diversion thus made, without hesitation, rushed forward to receive his assailants. The determined resistance which they encountered soon cooled their ardour; the Indians turned their backs, and fled for shelter to their elephants, whose leaders stirred them up to trample down the horse. The Macedonian phalanx made preparation for their reception, and attacked with their arrows not only their horses, but also their riders. This mode of fighting was not only new to them, but had never been heard of. Wherever the elephants turned, the ranks of the foot, however serried, were compelled to give way. The Indian horse, seeing the infantry in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again repulsed with loss, and forced to retreat amongst the elephants. By the casualties of the battle the Macedonian cavalry, which had been advisedly separated, were again united, and wherever they fell upon the Indians they made dreadful havoc, and the elephants, confined to a narrow space, and galled into ungovernable fury, were as destructive to their own men as to their enemies. As they plunged and rushed about, multitudes were trampled to death. The confusion was aggravated by the horse, who had fled to them for safety, and by the fact that several of the elephants had lost their leaders. The Macedonians were not so much exposed to danger from this quarter as the Indians, having the advantage of a more free and open space, and thus enabled to avoid them by wheeling out of the way, or opening a passage for them through their ranks. They slew several of them as they attempted to return. At last, worried and wearied with wounds, and toil, and "moving their fore feet heavily," they passed slowly out of the battle. Having surrounded all the enemy's horse with his, Alexander commanded his infantry to close their shields fast together, and haste, thus serried, to attack them. Few of the cavalry escaped from the carnage; the infantry shared no better fate. The Macedonians hemmed them in on every side; and at length all, except those who, as has been stated, were surrounded by the Macedonian cavalry, seeing the desperate situation of affairs, turned their backs, and fled. No sooner had the troops of Craterus perceived the advantages gained by their brother soldiers, than they began to cross the river; and being fresh, and elated by success, they pursued the flying enemy, and slaughtered thousands of them. Of the Indian foot little less than twenty thousand fell on that day; of the horse, about three thousand; all their chariots were destroyed. Two of Porus' sons were

amongst the slain; also the governor of that province, all the leaders of the elephants, the charioteers, and all the captains of the horse and foot. The entire loss of men sustained by Alexander, his historians say, amounted only to three hundred and ten.

During the engagement Porus neglected nothing which it became a consummate general and a brave prince to perform. Collected and circumspect, he was present in the thick of the fight; and as long as a single troop of his men held their ground, there was he to direct and cheer them. At length, being wounded in the right shoulder, he turned his elephant, and quitted the field. His bravery won the admiration of his adversary, and all his sympathies were roused for his preservation. He accordingly dispatched Taxiles in search of him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop, and receive Alexander's commands, for that all his efforts to escape were in vain. Porus, perceiving it was his old enemy Taxiles, by whom he was accosted, ran against him with his spear, and would have slain him had not the latter reined round his steed. This reception of his messenger did not destroy the interest which Alexander felt for his safety. He again sent an old friend of Porus in search of him, by whose persuasion and reiteration of Alexander's friendly intentions, added to the exigencies of the occasion, he accompanied him to Alexander's presence. The conqueror, being informed of his approach, advanced before his army to meet him, and, stopping his horse, was seized with surprise and admiration at his fine manly figure. Porus is said to have been seven and a half feet high; and such was his physical development, that his breastplate was twice the dimensions of any other in his army.* The impression produced by his imposing presence was further heightened by his kingly bearing. The vicissitudes of his fortunes had not humiliated his lofty and dignified tone of mind. Amid the wreck of his regal power he was still the king. Alexander's first inquiry of him was "what he should wish him to do for him." Porus replied, "To treat me like a king." Alexander, smiling, replied, "That I would do for my own sake, but say what I shall do for thine." Porus told him that "all his wishes were summed up in his first reply." Alexander was highly pleased by the nobility of these answers. He not only restored him to liberty and the full possession of all his dominions, but he also added another kingdom beyond his own, and treated him so

generously, that he continued for ever after an attached friend.

To commemorate this decisive victory he caused two cities to be erected—one on the battle-field beyond the river, and the other on the site of the camp before he crossed the river: the former he named *Nicæa* (victory); the latter *Bucephala*, in honour of his favourite charger, which died in the battle without a wound, worn out by age and over-exertion.

The whole country from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Acesines (Chenab) was reduced, and placed under the direction of Porus. The population of this district is reported to have been great and wealthy. Thirty-seven cities, none containing less than five thousand inhabitants, submitted to Alexander. Ambassadors also arrived from a powerful prince named Abisares, with a proffer of the surrender of himself and kingdom. Alexander, being advised that he had made preparations to co-operate with Porus to resist his invasion, sent him a peremptory order to appear in person, or to expect a hostile visit.

The territories between the Acesines (Chenab) and the Hydraotes (Ravee) were ruled by another Porus, a powerful prince, and previously at enmity with his namesake, and who had therefore offered his submission. Now, having heard that his enemy was in high honour and favour with his conqueror, he lost all confidence, and fled with his troops beyond the Hydraotes. Alexander seized on his abdicated dominions, and bestowed them on his rival. Alexander, having traversed the Punjab, passed over the Hydraotes, and then learned that a confederation was formed of the Catharians and other free Indian states, and that they were prepared and resolved to oppose his further progress, and had selected the city of Sangala, strongly fortified by nature and art, as their ground for resistance. The Catharians, and their allies, the Oxydracæ and Malli, had a high reputation for strength and bravery. Porus and Abisares some time previously had united their forces against them, but were repulsed. Their reputation was a further inducement to Alexander to make them bend to his superior military prowess. Without hesitation he marched against them, and on the third day found himself in presence of Sangala, and the enemy drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill neither precipitous nor difficult of ascent. Their waggons they had drawn up in a triple intrenchment, by which it was fortified as if by a triple wall, with their tents pitched in the middle. The manner in which the camp was thus protected, as also the absence of elephants, is presumptive proof that there

* Diodorus Siculus, p. 559.

too anxious to avail themselves of any specious opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke, would consider that the death of Alexander released them from all fear. Besides, they were apprehensive of the obstacles they had to encounter in traversing countries so extensive and diversified, intersected with rivers as formidable, perhaps, as those they had so recently met with. These considerations produced the most profound sensation amongst all grades of the army. They were almost driven to despair. Indeed, every danger was exaggerated in the absence of their king. When correct intelligence was at length conveyed to the camp, the messengers were not credited: even when letters came announcing his intended arrival amongst them in a very short time, the news was pronounced apocryphal, and suspected to be the contrivance of his body-guards and his generals, to quiet the universal feeling of dissatisfaction.

Fearful that this state of uncertainty might lead to very serious results, and perhaps eventuate in an insurrection, the moment he felt that the state of his health would justify his removal, Alexander ordered that he should be conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotes, and thence by water to his camp. On his approach he gave directions that the cover of his royal pavilion should be hoisted upon the poop of the vessel, to be seen by the whole army. These demonstrations failed to remove the general incredulity. It was only when passing before their eyes, and he extended his right hand to salute his faithful followers, that confidence was restored, and the whole army felt that their living king, and not his lifeless body, was nearing the place of debarkation. A simultaneous shout of joy pealed along the expectant groups that crowded to bid him welcome. Some with hands extended to heaven poured forth their thanksgivings for his recovery. Others, under the influence of the sudden transition from grief to joy, melted into tears. He declined the attentions of his retinue, who wished to convey him to his quarters in his litter; he ordered his horse to be brought, and having mounted, he rode through the ranks, receiving as he passed the joyous acclamations of the whole army, the banks and neighbouring wood echoing with the sound. Before he entered his tent he leaped from his horse, and showed himself on foot, to assure them of his recovered strength and health.

The Malli and Oxydræ both sent ambassadors to present their submission, and to tender to him the government of their nations: the Malli soliciting pardon for their resistance, the Oxydræ for their tardy surrender, and to profess their obedience to him. They thought themselves not unworthy of his con-

sideration, because, like other free nations, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws, which liberty, they are reported to have told him, they had enjoyed, free and unmolested, from the time that Bæchus conquered India to that day. As they understood that he was also the offspring of a god, if it were his pleasure they would accept a satrap of his selection, pay whatever tribute he thought proper to impose, and surrender to him as many hostages as he would require. From the Malli he exacted no further concessions; the loss they had previously sustained he considered sufficient to ensure their future obedience. From the Oxydræ he demanded one thousand hostages, the bravest and noblest of their nation, whom he said he would detain or use as soldiers till he had conquered the rest of India. These were immediately sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers. Over both nations he appointed Philip as satrap, and being gratified with the munificent presents of the Oxydræ, he freely sent back to them their hostages, and only reserved the chariots.

While he was under the care of his medical men, and restrained from active operation, the army was employed in constructing more ships near the confluence of the Hydraotes (Ravee), and Acesines (Chenab). As soon as his health was sufficiently recruited he resumed his voyage, having added to the strength of the land force on board, and sailed down the river slowly, to enable him to carry on more actively and efficiently his operations against the nations occupying both its banks. At the junction of the Acesines with the Indus (Punjunud), in the southern extremity of the Punjab, Alexander ordered Philip to erect a new city, with adequate docks and every accommodation for ship building. His object in so doing was to command the navigation. Here he was joined by Perdicas, who, with a part of the land force, had been engaged in the subjugation of the Abastani, or Avasthanas, an independent tribe of Indians. He also received the submission of the Ossadians, and an accession to his fleet from the banks of the Acesines. Of a city built here for the cultivation and preservation of Indian commerce, not a vestige remains. Thirlwall conjectures, or rather repeats a conjecture, that the small town of Mitth stands in its place. Alexander's father-in-law, Oxyartes, paid him a visit during his sojourn here, probably, as Thirlwall considers, to communicate to him the intelligence that a revolt had broken out among the Greeks settled in Bactria, and to report the misconduct of Tyriapæ, the satrap of Paropamisus. The latter was deprived of

his government, which was bestowed on Oxyartes. Having no further need of so great a land force on board, a large body, including all the Thracians, was left with Philip, and a considerable force with the elephants, was disembarked on the left bank of the Indus to pursue their course to the Delta. This route was judiciously selected, as the country presented few natural obstructions to their progress, and it was imperative, for the preservation of communication, that the natives should be overawed. Alexander next reached the capital of the Sogdi,* and transformed it into a Greek colony, which he named Alexandria. This town he also supplied with an arsenal, and other commercial conveniences, and refitted a part of his fleet there. The prince whose territories he next reached is by the classic writers named Musicannus. This state was reported by them to be the richest, in wealth and natural productions, of all the Indian nations visited by the Macedonians. The contemplation of its abundance filled Alexander with admiration. Burnes thinks that the traces of its capital are to be found in the ruins of Alore, four miles distant from Bnkur, which tradition repeats was once the chief city of a mighty kingdom, ruled by a Brahmin, who was slain by the Moslems in the seventh century.† “This description,” says Williams, “suits well with the rich and well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy, and the Indus. Musicannus and Oxyeanus, the appellations of neighbouring chiefs, point probably to the names of the territories governed by these princes; as the word *khawn* is constantly found, even to this day, on the lower Indus, such as Chnek-kawn, Khawn-gur, and Gur-khawn, and other different compounds. Musicannus, perhaps, might be probably described in the modern English fashion as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxyeanus as the Rajah of Onche.”‡ Musicannus was permitted to re-

tain the possession of his kingdom on condition that a fortress should be built in the city, under the superintendence of Craterus, to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. This precaution was taken, the situation being well fitted to command the surrounding country. The next subjugation was the territory of Oxyeanus. This prince was slain or taken prisoner. During this expedition, the Brahmins, whose influence unfortunately for him was great, induced Musicannus to make a patriotic effort to expel the impious invader, who, they said, had sacrilegiously dared to violate their sacred soil with his impure footstep. Peithon, with a sufficient force, was dispatched against him; defeat followed defeat, patriotism fired by religious zeal failed. The king and his priests were crucified,—a conspicuous spectacle, and appalling warning to any of the adjacent states whose aspirations were for independence. Alexander had neared the terminus of his Indian voyage, and was approaching the upper part of the Delta, where the Indus divides into two branches of unequal extent. The enclosed space was named Pattalene by the Greeks, from its chief city Pattala, a little below the point at which the stream divides, and in all probability not far from the modern town Hyderabad. Hephæstion received orders to strongly fortify this place, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants on his approach, but these had been induced to return. A citadel was erected, a harbour constructed, docks built sufficient to contain a large fleet, and wells dug, and other provisions made for the supply of troops and travellers. Dr. Vincent considers that Alexander had conceived a plan of the commerce which was afterwards carried on from Alexandria in Egypt to the Indian Ocean, and that this is capable of demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at Pattala. In his passage down the Indus, he says, he had evidently marked that river as the eastern boundary of his empire; he had built three cities, and founded two others on this line, and he was now preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the point of the division of the river, and planning other posts at its eastern and western mouths. Droysen describes Alexander's object to have been nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India,

solution of the difficulty here by Williams and Ritter, is entirely grounded on the improbability that *khan* is Turkish. Had he known as much of the *Celtic*, and of its close affinity with Sanscrit, as does the erudite author of *Gomer*, he would have been enabled to discover, with little search, that *khan*, a head chief, father of a clan, is to be found in a far older language than the Turkish—in its matrix, in fact, a language too which has left its nomenclature in the East as well as in the West.

* *Sogdi*, in the language of the country, signifies valley. This is why it recurs.

† Burnes, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ These names are an etymological puzzle, says the Bishop of St. David's (*History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 53, note), tempting from the seeming readiness of solution. Mr. Williams thinks that they “point to the names of the territories governed by these princes, because the word *khawn* is constantly found even to this day on the lower Indus, so that Musicannus might be properly described as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxyeanus as the Rajah of Onche.” “I am surprised,” the bishop proceeds, “to find that Ritter entertained a similar opinion. Do we not require some better evidence that the *Turkish* title *khan* was in use before the time of Alexander on the lower Indus?” In the still existing obscurity in which the native Indian records are immersed, the right reverend historian cannot expect to obtain much information unless from companions of Alexander, of what was in use before his time on the lower Indus. The objection he makes to the philological

the line of the Abhiras, ten of the Gardhabas, sixteen of the Bakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Ptolemas, thirteen Minchas, and eleven Mannas. Altogether seventy-nine princes are stated to have been sovereign of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years.

This series of reigns, if consecutive, and the number of years specified added to the date assumed for the termination of the Audina line, would infringe upon the present century. Professor Wilson helps to solve the difficulty which here presents itself, and which is further complicated by the successions which carry extinct dynasties, if the order were intended to be continuous, into the remote future. They are not, he says, however, continuous, but merely contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the west of India, the periods may not be

the coinage of the Garddabha princes, Gard-dabha being the original of Gadha, meaning also an ass.* Several other princes are mentioned by name in the Parana, but as there are no authentic particulars by which they are identified at home, and no reference to them in contemporary history, or discovered monuments, there are no means of ascertaining whether they be not imaginary creations: for it must be observed that the historical details narrated in the Parana are delivered, as if in a prophetic spirit, and antecedent to their occurrence, and consequently the real and the ideal are separated by a line of demarcation, and where the two meet, the truth itself is as shadowy as the fiction. The Parana is written in the form of a dialogue. The leading part is the conversation of the order of political and temporal events.

not far off. But what matter is the subjugation of the mighty earth to one who can subjugate himself. Emancipation from existence is the fruit of self-control. It is through infatuation that kings desire to possess me, whom their predecessors have been forced to leave, whom their fathers have not retained. Beguiled by the selfish love of sway, fathers contend with sons, and brothers with brothers, for my possession. Foolishness has been the characteristic of every king who has boasted, All this earth is mine—everything is mine; it will be in my house for ever; for he is dead. How is it possible that such vain desires should survive in the heart of his descendants, who have seen their progenitors, absorbed by the thirst of dominion, compelled to relinquish me, whom he called his own, and to tread the path of dissolution? When I hear a king sending word to another by his ambassador, 'This earth is mine, immediately resign your pretensions to it, I am moved to violent laughter at first, but it soon subsides in pity for the infatuated fool.'

"These were the verses which Earth recited, and by listening to which ambition fades away like snow before the sun. I have now related to you the whole account of the descendants of Menu, among whom have flourished kings endowed with a portion of Vishnu, engaged in the preservation of the earth; whoever shall listen reverently, and with faith to this narrative, proceeding from the posterity of Menu, shall be purified entirely from his sins, and with the perfect possession of his faculties, shall live in unequalled affluence, plenty, and prosperity. He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of the great who have perished, and the illustrious whose posterity is no more; of kings of great might, resistless valour, and

unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more unbounded time, and are now only a tale, he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call either children, or wife, or house, or lands, or wealth, his own. The arduous penances that have been performed by men obstructing fate for countless years, religious rites and sacrifices of great efficacy and virtue, have been made by time the subject only of narration. The valiant Prithu traversed the universe, everywhere triumphant over his foes; yet he was blown away like the light down of the simal-tree, before the blast of time. He who was Kartavirya subdued innumerable enemies, and conquered the seven zones of the earth, but now he is only the topic of a theme, and a subject for affirmation and contradiction. Fic upon the empire of the sons of Raghu, who triumphed over Dasamana, and extended their sway to the ends of the earth, for was it not consumed in an instant by the frown of the destroyer? Mandhatri, the emperor of the universe, is embodied only in a legend, and what pious man who hears it will ever be so unwise as to cherish the desire of possession in his soul? The most glorious have only appeared and passed away. Is it so? Have they ever really existed? Where are they now? We know not! The powerful kings who now are, or who will be, as I related them to you, or any others who are unspecified, are all subject to the same fate, and the present and the future will perish and be forgotten like their predecessors. Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands and property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA FROM ITS INTRODUCTION TO THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.

The most marvellous chapter in the history of the world is that which records the successful mission of the carpenter of Galilee, and of the humble instruments—for the most part illiterate fishermen—whom he called to promote the promulgation of his gospel. All of humble birth; the disciples of no celebrated school of philosophy; possessing none of the recommendations which ordinarily command respect, distinction, and influence; abnegating

the world in which they moved; and entirely devoted to the "kingdom of God;" despised of all men; excommunicated from all social intercourse by the Jews; cursed three times a day publicly in their synagogues; accused of many things, both absurd and detestable—of worshipping the sun, and the head of an ass—of being an idle and unprofitable race; charged with high treason, in conspiring to erect a new monarchy in opposition to that

lowing year the fathers wrote to Mar Elias Catholicus, but he did not receive their letter, having been gathered to his fathers, and was buried in the Church of Meschintas, in the city of Mossoul. His successor was Mar Simeon Catholicus. In this letter was given an account of the state in which they found the churches of India, and the following very interesting historical details. There were then thirty thousand families of the same faith with themselves, residing in the same district. They were about erecting some churches, and had ample means for the purpose; the houses of St. Thomas the apostle were occupied by Christians, who also were about repairing them. Meliapore was a distance of twenty-five days' journey from their residence, and situated in the province of Silan, and in a region called Malabar. This region contained twenty cities, three of them celebrated and powerful—Carangol, Palor, and Colom. There were other cities in their neighbourhood, all inhabited by Christians, having churches established among them, and a very great and wealthy city not far distant called Calcutum (Calicut), inhabited by idolatrous infidels; our brothers the Franks, they write, have sent hither from the west large vessels. The voyage occupies a year. They first sailed to the south, and passing by Chus, that is Æthiopia, arrived in India. They trade in pepper and other articles of commerce. The letter then proceeds to state that six large vessels had arrived, and that the Christian Franks were at Calcutum; that several Israelites dwelt there, who, inflamed with their usual animosity to Christians, had stirred up the jealousy of the native ruler, by telling him that the foreigners were greatly taken with the beauty and fertility of the country; and on their return home they would so report to their king that a powerful fleet would be sent by him, a fierce war be waged, and the kingdom be laid waste. That the Indian king, impelled by these insinuations, put to the sword all of them who had landed, to the amount of seventy men, and among these five priests. Those who were on board had hoisted sails and come to Coen, to the native Christians, as if they were their kindred. An infidel prince ruled also in Coen, who, moved by the injuries inflicted on the Franks, swore that he would protect them. The King of Calcutum, hearing of their safety, marched against them,—but in the meantime several vessels had arrived from their country; they gave the Indians battle, routed them with the loss of three thousand men, took the city of Calcutum, having attacked it by sea, destroyed the vessels they found there, and put

to death about one hundred Jews, who were employed by the natives as pilots. They then proceed to describe the friendly reception they met with from the Franks, the presents of vestments and gold they received, the performance of their religious rites, and conclude by stating that they were about four hundred in number, natives of Portugal, and subjects of King Emanuel.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar was an event which not only affected the pious, simple-minded, and prosperous Christians of India, but it produced a sensation in Europe not less profound than the previous discovery of America. Both events, nearly contemporary, roused mankind from the lethargy by which they had been torpid for ages, and opened new fields of enterprise to the startled energies of Europeans, gave a wholesome impulse to their mental faculties, and were the precursors of those revolutions, religious and political, which fiercely agitated Christendom, and which, whatever were their immediate attendant irregularities, opened a fairer, more exhilarating, and ennobling vista of the future.

Though the authorities quoted by Assemanus imply the existence of a community of feeling between the Syrian Christians and the new arrivals from Portugal, there is no evidence that they had previously any intercourse whatever with the western churches. The discoveries of Vasco da Gama, as shown in a previous chapter, encouraged several Portuguese adventurers to visit India. Of these Pedro Alvares Cabral was the first who conveyed to Europe intelligence of the Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. He spent some time among the native Christians, and on his return to Europe was accompanied by two brothers anxious to visit Europe, and from Portugal to prosecute their journey to Mossoul, to visit the Syrian patriarch, the acknowledged head of their church. Soon after their arrival at Lisbon the elder, Mathias, died, and the younger brother, Joseph, at the instigation, it would appear, of the Portuguese priests, proceeded to Rome, and thence to Venice. Whether he reached Mossoul is not recorded. During his stay in Venice a Latin version of his travels, and an account of his co-religionists in India, was published under the title of the *Voyages of Joseph the Indian*. He returned to Portugal, and thence sailed for his native land, and there closed his career.

On the 20th of May, 1492, the inhabitants of Calicut were surprised by the entrance of four strange vessels into their harbour. These were commanded by Vasco da Gama. Fortunately for the Portuguese they found here

a Moor, who understood the Spanish language. The question which he first put to them, as well as their answer, was characteristic:—"What the devil brought you here?" the Moor pertly asked. "We have come," said the Portuguese, "in search of Christians and spices."

In 1502 Da Gama made a second voyage to India. While he remained, executing the commands of his royal master, a deputation from the native Christians who dwelt in the neighbouring town of Cranganore waited upon him. These the Portuguese manifestly, on the information supplied by themselves, describe as "descendants from the very old stock of those whom the apostle Thomas had converted to sound religion and the faith, from fables and impure superstition." They complained of the oppression and exactions to which they were subjected by the king and the rajahs, and besought the protection of the King of Portugal. They presented to Da Gama a staff of vermillion wood mounted with silver, and ornamented with three bells, which they assured him was the staff of the last of their princes, who had recently died, as a token of their submission, and a tender of their allegiance to his sovereign. This the admiral courteously received, and gave them every assurance that protection should be extended to them, and that such were the instructions he had received from his royal master.

At this time the south-western coast of the peninsula was divided between three powerful princes, who had under them several influential rajahs: these were the Zamorin of Calicut in the centre, the Colastrian rajah to the north, and the rajah of Cochin to the south. Previous to the arrival of the Portuguese the Mohammedans were the chief traders on the coast, had consequently had great influence, and were much courted by the several rivals, and more especially by the zamorin, to whom they paid a duty of ten per cent. on their commercial transactions. The jealousies of trade soon embroiled them with the Portuguese.

In those days the Spaniards and Portuguese were the most enterprising people in the world, and on no theatre did the latter play a more prominent or more successful part than on the coasts of Hindostan. In the course of a few years the shore of Malabar was studded with their factories; in 1510 Calicut, besieged by them, fell into their hands, and in rapid succession they became masters of Diu, Choul, Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and Damaun. Their factories were established at Dabul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon;

their rivals were overpowered; their flags commanded the ocean. All the native vessels were compelled to take Christian passes for their safety on the waters; and the Mohammedans, acknowledging their superiority, submitted implicitly to their government. On the opposite shores of Coromandel, they also established a flourishing trade. Though the Portuguese came avowedly for the purposes of cultivating religion and commerce, it does not appear that the first in the order of expression was their primary consideration, very little results of their missionary zeal is apparent in the first forty years of their Indian occupation. This, it must be admitted, was not the fault of the home government. The kings of Portugal were most sincere in their anxiety for the propagation of their faith. There is on record a letter from John III. of Portugal, which clearly proves that the work of conversion was not left entirely to spiritual influences and missionary zeal. His majesty lays down the principle that "pagans may be brought over to his religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment;" and in conformity with his views, he directs that the proselytes, on professing Christianity, be provided with places in the customs, and exempted from impressment in the navy, and sustained by the distribution of rice out of the public revenue. Sir Emerson Tennant remarks, "that those acquainted with the national character of those with whom the Jesuits were so successful, and their obsequiousness to power, and the pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their interest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehending the ease with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions; and although the peculiar religion of the Hindoos in the northern provinces necessarily presented obstacles more formidable than those opposed by the genius of Buddhism in the south, the missionaries engaged in the task were not devoid of expedients by which to overcome both. In the instance of the Cingalese, the miracle was accomplished with ease—the mountain submissively came over to Mohammed; and in the other and more obstinate one of the Tamils, Mohammed was equally prepared to succeed by making his own approach to the mountain." The apathy of the Portuguese colonists in advancing the cause of the church in their newly-acquired territories became the subject of remark at home, and soon echoed through Europe.

communications with the angel Gabriel, and claimed the power of working miracles. He was a man of strong feeling, cruel and enthusiastic, and in every way qualified to exercise the greatest influence over his countrymen. Having elsewhere given an elaborate portrait of this singular man, enough has been said of him for the present purpose. The tenets of his religion were few and easily remembered. "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The rewards promised to his followers were calculated to develop to its fullest extent the warlike propensities of his race. "The sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and chernbims."* The alternative left to the foe was "the Koran, tribute, or the sword."

The results of such a system, with such a people, responded to the sanguine expectations of the prophet chief. He soon conquered Arabia, laid waste the fertile plains of Syria, set at defiance the Eastern empire, founded a new one, and converted millions to his creed. At his death, like Alexander the Great, he left no son to occupy the throne; his empire lay exposed, the prize of the most enterprising of his followers. Though Ali was not only his cousin and son-in-law, but also—a claim of far greater weight with his fanatical followers—the first of his converts, Abubekir, the father of one of his many wives, succeeded to his temporal and spiritual power. In a campaign in Palestine Abubekir achieved many victories, and with equal success he propagated the pretended revelations of Mohammed. He reigned only two years. Although the followers of the Prophet were thus early severed into two sects—the Shites, the followers of Ali, and the Sunnites—the brilliant career of Omar, who succeeded to the supreme power, under the imposing title of "Commander of the Faithful," magnified the dignity and power of the caliph, or vicar of the Prophet. Wherever this intrepid prince directed the tide of war, conquests crowned his arms. On the banks of the Yermuk forty thousand Greeks paled before the Crescent, and Palestine was wrested from the feeble hold of the Christians. The capture of Damascus, the fall of Jerusalem, the rout of the Persians, the conquest of Egypt, and the acquisition of all the northern parts of Africa to the waters of the Atlantic from the Romans,

* The Koran, *passim*.

were some of the achievements of Omar. To him is ascribed the destruction by fire of the library of Alexandria in 641. In the midst of triumph he fell in 644, in the tenth year of his reign, by the hand of an assassin, and was succeeded by Othman, who, during the twelve years of his reign, was a zealous propagator of the doctrines of the Koran, and a successful prosecutor of the Eastern conquests commenced by his predecessors. He was the victim of a conspiracy, and perished in the thirty-fifth year of the Hegira, and 656 of the Christian era. Ali at length was proclaimed caliph, though strenuously opposed by Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, and mother of the faithful. He overcame Zobeir and Talher, who took up arms in her defence, and eventually got possession of herself, and had her conveyed with every mark of respect to Medina. In an insurrection he was slain, and was succeeded by his son Hassan, who was forced to abdicate, in A.D. 661, after a short reign of six months, in favour of Muawiyah, who was the first caliph of the race of the Omniades.

At the death of the second Caliph Omar, the kingdom of Persia, as far east as Herat, lately in possession of English troops, was overrun by the Arabs, and in A.D. 650 the Arab frontier had been extended to the river Oxus, including Balk and all of the country to the north of the Hindoo Koosh. The Indus became its eastern boundary.

Ferishta relates that in the year 664, the third of the reign, the Caliph Muawiyah, an Arab ameer of distinction, marched from Merv to Cabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons, and that a detachment from thence penetrated, in the direction of India, as far as Mooltan, and having plundered the country, returned to head-quarters at Khorassan, bringing with them many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts.

Cabul about this time was reduced to subjection, as the Persian historian records that Yezed, having learned that the prince of that country had thrown off his allegiance, marched against him with a force to recover the province, but was defeated in a pitched battle.* In revenge for this disgrace, Tilla, governor of Sistan, having collected a large force, subdued Cabul, and appointed an Arab governor over it. Eighteen years after this Abdurhman, governor of Khorassan, led in person a large army against Cabul, and having taken every precaution to escape further surprise, he entered it, and soon reduced it to entire submission. A singular circumstance induced Abdurhman to forfeit his allegiance.

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 5

At this time Hejaj was governor of Basra, and to him all the generals in Persia were subordinate. Hejaj was a man of the most violent and sanguinary character. He is said to have remarked after an interview with Abdurhman that he was very handsome, but that he never looked upon him without feeling an unaccountable inclination to cut his throat. Apprehending serious results from this antipathy, he immediately contracted an alliance with the lately chastised Rajah of Cabul, and assembling a numerous army, waged open war not alone on his enemy Hejaj, but on the caliph himself, whom he defeated, and seized on Basra, and thence marched to Cufa, lately the capital of the empire, and took possession of it. However, he was eventually defeated, after a struggle protracted through two years, and obliged to fly to his old government, and was on the point of being made prisoner at Siestan, when the prince of Cabul arrived to his relief. He now a second time renewed his preparations with similar results, and to escape falling into the hands of his enemies he put an end to his life.*

Perishta relates that during all this time the Affghans were Moslems, and, according to their own traditions, were converted in the time of the Prophet. He further adds that in the year 63 of the Hegira (A.D. 684-5) they issued from their mountains, and invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries,—as Kihman, Sheownran, and Peshawur,—and with their allies, the Gukkurs, defeated the Rajah of Lahore, and compelled him to cede in perpetuity a portion of his territories. In return it was secretly provided by treaty that they should protect the Indian frontier from Mohammedan invasion.

The first appearance of the Mohammedans in India was in A.D. 664. Mohalib, a chief who had distinguished himself in Persia and Arabia, was detached on that occasion from the invading army, and penetrated to Mooltan; but it is a fact, and not accounted for, that no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.†

The next invasion is described as of a more permanent character, and is said to have proceeded from the south-eastern point of Persia into the country stretching from the mouth of the Indus, then ruled by a Hindoo prince called Dahir by the Mussulmen, whose capital was at Alor, near Bakkar, and whose territories included Mooltan and all Scinde, with probably the adjoining plain of the Indus, extending to the mountains at Calabagh.

Arab incursions are alleged to have been

made in the reign of the Caliph Omar, and Perishta states that the Affghans gave an asylum to the surviving Arabs, who were driven out of Scinde in the second century of the Hegira. If they took place so early as the days of the second caliph, they were in all probability piratical expeditions for the purpose of abducting the women of that district, who, according to the tastes of the Arabs, were supposed to possess considerable attractions, and were greatly prized in the seraglios of that country.

At length, in the reign of Caliph Walid, the Moslem government was provoked to more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Dival, or Dewal, a seaport connected with Scinde, restitution was demanded of Rajah Dahir. He refused compliance, and pleaded in his justification that that port belonged not to his dominions. The Mussulmen sent a body composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horse to enforce their claim. These were cut off by the natives. Hejaj, the governor of Basra, raised a regular army of six thousand men at Shiraz, and placed his nephew, Mohammed Casim, then not more than twenty years of age, in command, and he successfully conducted it to the walls of Dewal. Casim was supplied with catapults and the other machines requisite for a siege. He commenced his operations by an attack on a temple a short distance from the town. This was a pagoda greatly celebrated, in high veneration among the people. It was strongly fortified, being surrounded with a high enclosure of hewn stone, defended by a large garrison of Rajpoots, in addition to numerous inhabitants of the Brahminical caste. A flag was displayed on the lofty tower of the temple, and to this was attached a superstitious legend that, as long as it retained its position, the pagoda might bid defiance to all the art and power of its assailants. This prophecy soon reached the ears of Casim. He directed the engines against the sacred standard. It was brought to the ground, and those whose hopes rested on its safety, losing all confidence, abandoned their post in despair, and the place fell without a struggle into the hands of the invaders. Casim recommended to the inhabitants the rite of circumcision; this they rejected. Incensed by their contumacy, he ordered all the males above the age of seven to be put to death, and the rest, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to the speedy submission of the town. A rich booty fell into the hands of the Arabs, a fifth was reserved for Hejaj, and the rest divided among the troops. A son of Dahir's, who was in

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 501.

† Ibid., p. 503.

When the caliphate of Bagdad was thus rapidly on the decline, a tribe of Tartars from the Altai Mountains, and since known by the name of Turks, had gradually and steadily risen to great power. By a series of vigorous incursions they had subjected to their rule all the neighbouring tribes. In the degeneracy of the Arab troops contingents from these warriors were largely incorporated with them. Their chiefs soon, by deeds of personal valour and strategic ability, rose to the command of armies and the government of provinces, and on them was soon conferred the distinguished honour of selecting from their ranks the body-guard of the "commander of the faithful."

As soon as the power of the caliphs began to decline, and the energies, devotion, and enthusiasm of the Arabs began to wane, the results which invariably accompany such symptoms of course manifested themselves through the Mohammedan empire. The standard of rebellion was raised by the governors of remote provinces.

An obstinate revolt in Transoxiana, called Haroun-al-Reschid, the well-known caliph of Arabian history and romance, and the fifth of the house of Abbas, from the seat of government. His death was accelerated by the circumstance. It was quelled by his son Mahmoon, who took up his residence in this disaffected province, and was thus the means of preserving it to the empire. It was by means of an insurrection here that he was enabled to wrest the sceptre from his brother Amir. He had scarcely taken possession of his capital, and formed his court, when Tahir, to whose attachment he owed his successes, began to lay the foundation of his own independence. His territories included Transoxania and Khorassan, the latter extended from the Caspian to the Oxus, and were never after united to the caliphate. The commanders of the faithful, reduced to a state of abject dependence on the Turkish guards, were a mere symbol in their hands, and from that period may be dated the complete downfall of the Arab empire.

Tahir and his posterity, under the title of Tahirites, enjoyed sovereignty in that province from the year A.D. 813 to the year 872, a period of fifty-nine years. They were dispossessed by the son of a brazier, called in the Arabic Soffar, who, forcing his way upwards through the various grades of military adventure to be the chief of an army, was enabled to place on the throne his family, known in history as the dynasty of the Soffarides. This house was supplanted by a similar adventurer after a period variously stated to be thirty-four and fifty-seven years,

who established the house of the Samanid. The princes of this race are celebrated by Persian historians as lovers of justice, and liberal and enlightened patrons of learning, and are said to have despoiled the legitimate commanders of the faithful of some of the most valuable territories, and to have exercised kingly authority over Bokhara, Khorassan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Affghans.

The Samanides ruled for (from A.D. 892 to 1004) one hundred and fourteen years; although not invaders of India, they had more connection than any of their predecessors with the history of that country. They had originally come from Balk.

In the reign of Abd-el-Melek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, Alhptugeen, a Turkish slave, acquired distinction, and was appointed governor of the vast province of Khorassan. On the death of his sovereign he made an attempt to snatch the sceptre from the feeble hold of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince, but the emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Alhptugeen quitted the royal city of Bokhara. The ambitious governor retired with the adherents of his fortunes and the admirers of his courage to the town of Ghizni, situated on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers tributary to the Indus. Every effort was made to crush his growing power, but in vain; and during a period of sixteen years he added both to dominions and to his reputation. The forces by which he was enabled to preserve his independence were composed of a body of three thousand disciplined slaves, or Mamelukes, Turks of his own original condition who accompanied him to his retreat. Doubtless he was joined in after time by soldiers who had served under him when governor, but it is highly probable that his chief strength consisted in the resources supplied by the country of his adoption.

Sebektegin, at one time his slave, who by successive steps became his general counsellor and son-in-law, became also his successor. Although master in Ghizni, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. He endeared himself to his officers and soldiers by his liberality and military qualities, and by his affability secured the love and admiration of his subjects. Peace during his government smiled on the land. His arms and his faith were successful in India. He destroyed the monuments of paganism, laid waste the Punjab, built the towns of Bost and Kordar near the Indus. Noah, the successor of Mansour, treated him rather as an ally than a subject.

